

TRAVANCORE
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SERIES



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Published under the orders of the Government of
Travancore.

Stone and Copper plate Inscriptions of Travancore
with 7 plates.

BY

A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B. A., M. A., A. S.
Superintendent of Archaeology, Travancore State.



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No. 27—Keralapuram Inscriptions.

Keralapuram, which is mentioned in inscriptions as a suburb of Muttalakkuruchchi, a village of Parakkōttu-deśam in Śeṅgaḷunṛ-vaṇaṇḍu which was itself a sub-division of Tennāḍu, is a hamlet near Padmanābhapuram. It contains a Śiva temple, whose earliest record engraved on its south-west base is dated in Kollam 491 (= A. D. 1317) in the reign of Vira-Udaiyamaṛttanḍavarman and has already been published. As the god of the temple has been called Vīrakēra-ṣaṣvarttu-Mahādeva in this inscription and as the village also bore the name of Vīrakēralapuram *alias* Muttalakkuruchchi, the temple and the village may be presumed to have come into existence during the reign of a king Vīrakēralavarman who must have reigned prior to the beginning of the 14th century; i. e., in all probability, either of the two Vāṇḍu kings of that name figuring in the Chōḷapuram epigraph of Kollam 302 and the Tiruvallam record of Kollam 399.

When this temple subsequently got into disrepair after the lapse of more than three or four centuries, it was renovated in Kollam 782 (= A. D. 1607) by Vīra Ravi-Ravivarman *alias* Śrī Kuṣāṅkhara who constructed its *uḷambalam*, kitchen and *Rishabha-maṇḍapa* in stone, and finished off in brick the *vimāna* of its central shrine. The same fact is also alluded to in the *Arrār* plate of Kollam 821. This Vīra Ravi-Ravivarman (Keṭṭai-tirunaḷ) is known from his Tiruvattāṅṅu inscriptions to have been the son of Uṇṇayamaṇi-Rāpi, to have belonged to the Tiruppaṇṇar-avarṇam and the Kīḷappērar-illam and had reigned at least between the years Kollam 776 and 782; while the *State Manual* gives him, on the authority of the temple chronicles, a reign of nearly 11 years from Kollam 771 to 782.

The subjoined inscriptions engraved on several pillars of the temple are all dated in the 6th day of the month of Chittirai of Kollam 782, when the consecration ceremony of the renovated temple was performed, and when these pillars, some of them sculptured *uruttan* and others of the variety called *chitra-kaṇḍam* were contributed as votive gifts by several private individuals connected with the temple. From the fact that the *surru-maṇḍapa* and the *Rishabha-maṇḍapa* are stated to have been constructed by the king himself, according perhaps to some definite plan, it looks as if the private donors, who wanted to participate in the meritorious work of the temple's renovation, paid for these pillars after their erection and had their own donative labels incised thereon.

These pillars are described as belonging to the *chitra-kaṇḍam* variety and as some images are also sculptured on their faces, they are further classified as *chitra-kaṇḍam-uruttan*. This type which is very common in temples is formed, as its name implies, by the combination of two or three styles, the present variety consisting of three cubical portions connected together by intermediate shafts octagonal in section, which are further variegated with floral or plain band ornamentation. The square faces of the cubes at the middle and extremities bear on them representations of men and animals, conventional floral work and geometrical patterns.

The four pillars of the *Rishabha-maṇḍapa* at its south-west, north-west, north-east and south-east corners are well sculptured in the style of the 17th century so familiar in the neighbouring districts of Madura and Tinnevely, and

represent, in order, the images respectively of Kulasekhara-Perumāḷ, Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ together with Sundaramūrti, Lakshmana and Rāma; but it is deplorable that all the figures are mutilated owing to wanton neglect and ill-usage. The introduction of Rāma and Lakshmana in a Śiva temple is not so uncommon as it may appear at first sight, as these complementary images were popular in this period and are found in many of the Tinnevely temples erected during the Madura Nāyakaas' rule. The other two pillars bearing the representations of the two Chēra kings Kulasekhara and Chēramāṇ are however peculiar, and may have been fashioned at the original suggestion of king Ravivarman himself, who perhaps desired to perpetuate the memory of the two canonised Saints of his own regal line; for otherwise, it cannot be explained why the donors of these pillars, a brace of temple dancing girls and a temple-accountant, should have particularly chosen these rare representations to adorn their votive pairs. Kulasekhara, the staunch Vaiṣṇava devotee whose hymns are brimful of his fervid faith in the one god Vishnu, must have deprecated the Travancore king's patriotism which stationed him in front of a Śaiva shrine.

The *Rishabha-maṇḍapa* is the square hall just in front of the sanetum in Śiva temples, in which is installed an image of the *Rishabha* or bull, the vehicle of that god. The Sanskrit word *Rishabha* is transformed into *iḷapa* and *iḷchapa* in these inscriptions, by the common substitution of *ja* for *sha* as in *śēlam* for *śēsham* etc., while the initial vowel *i* which is introduced in the Tamil rendering of Sanskrit words beginning with *ri*, ought to have given the equivalent *irushabha*. *Maṇḍapa* has assumed the vulgar form of *maṇḍaka* and *iḷāna* which can reasonably change into *iḷāna* as *ḍiḷāna* from *ḍiḷāna*, has here become *iḷāna*.

Inscription A records that on the 6th day of the month of Chittirai in the Kollam year 782, the pillar bearing the image of Kulasekhara-Perumāḷ was set up in the south-western corner (*kappi-mālai*) of the *Rishabha-maṇḍapa* by two women Nilammalkuṭṭi, daughter of Mādammāi and Mādammāi, daughter of Ichchakkuṭṭi, who belonged to the *nūttakuṭṭi* of dancing girls attached to the temple of Mahādeva at this village of Kōraḷapuram; while the other inscription states that the temple-accountant, Ayyappaṇ-Ayyappaṇ of Parakōḍu-ḍēṣam erected on the same day the pillar of Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ and Sundarapperumāḷ at the north-western corner of the same *maṇḍapa*. The other two pillars of Rāma and Lakshmana were similarly the gifts respectively of this accountant's wife Senbagamāt-taṇḍakuṭṭi, daughter of Nallaṇṇaiḷṇṇai of the Suchindrum temple, and Nāch-chiḷṇṇai of Vilavūr-ḍēṣam, made on the same day.

A¹

On the west base of the Rishabha-maṇḍapa.

1. ஸீரத்தில் ஸீரத்தும் சீர்த கொல்லம் எச அலம் இல சித்திரை மீ ௬.
2. நதினாருமத்திசெருதிச்செயில் ஸீரிகொன்னெச்சொத்த³ மா.
3. நெயர் கொயில் இச்சபமண்டபத்தின் வடமேல்முனையில்
4. சொ(ம்)மன்² பெருமாளும் சந்தரப்பெருமாளும்

1 This is registered as No. 54 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1893 A. D.

2 Read ஸீரிகொன்னெச்சொத்த.

3 Expressed by a symbol ஸ.

- 5 உருத்தான் செய்கிச்ச செ. மாதெவர் கொடுவில் தானக்கனக்கு-
6 னடய திருமுகமெழுத்து பாக்கொட்டு தெரத்து கணக்கு¹ அப்பன்² அய்
யன் சதாசெவை [H*]

B³*On the same base.*

- 1 எசஅலெ இலு சித்திரை கூஉ கயினர் கொ(ர)ளபுரத்து
2 மாதெவர் கொடுவில் இழபமண்டகத்தில் கன்-
3 னிழபமையில் குலசெகரப்பெருமான்⁴ உருத்தான் செய்-
4 கித்த மாதெவர் கொடுவில் முறையில் மூத்த-
5 குடியில் மாதம்மை மகன் கீளம்மைகுட்டியு-
6 கி சச்சகுட்டி. மகன் மாதம்மையும் சதாசெவை [H*]

C⁵*On the east base of the same mandapa.*

- 1 எசஅலெ இலு சித்திரை யீ⁶ கூஉ கொளபுரத்து இழபமண்டகத்தில்
2 உபாத்த⁷ ஸ்ரீவில் இலிங்கப்பெருமான்⁸ உருத்தான்⁹ செ. கொடுவில் தான-
3 க்கணக்கு¹ அப்பப்பன்² அப்பப்பன் பெண்காதி³ குருகிதாமுடைய கவி-
4 கொடுவில் திறப்பு⁴ வக ல் கணவர்க்கெனப்பெற்றான்
5 மகன் செம்பருமாதத்தாண்டக்கு⁵.டி செட்கிச்சது ச(ர)தாசெவை ஹரி
[H*]

D¹⁰*On the same base.*

- 1 யீனத்தில் கியாமல் கின்ற கொல்லம் எசஅலெ இலு
2 சித்திரை யீ⁶ கூஉ கயினர் கொளபுரத்து மாதெவர்
3 கொடுவில் இழபமண்டகத்தில் தென்மெக்கு மூ-
4 லெடுல் சிராமன் உருத்தான் செய்கித்த கிவனுர்
5 தெரத்து கித்திருத்த காக்கியசர் மகன் காக்கியசர் சதாசெவை ஹரி [H*]

1 Expressed by a symbol குது.

2 Expressed by a symbol.

3 This is registered as No. 52 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1893 A. D.

4 It ought to be கணக.

5 Expressed by a symbol கு.

6 " உரு.

7 " க்கு.

8 Read கச்சிதமுடைய.

9 The name திறப்பு வகல் means 'out of the eleven dancing girls who belonged to the 'ornamental' adjunct of the temple i.e. for dancing and singing, as opposed the other class of maid-servants who attended to the temple menial service.

10 This is registered as No. 56 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1893 A. D.

11 No. 58 of the same collection.



No. 28.—Cheraman-Perumal.

It will be of interest to give here a short account of the life of the royal-saint Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ, because of his connection with the ancient Chēra house, and as king Rāma-varman of Travancore (1758-98) mentions him as an ancestor of his dynasty¹. The main incidents of the saint-king's biography have been succinctly summarised in a single verse² by Umāpatiśivāchārya in his *Tiruttondar-purāṇasāram*. The story as given in the *Periyapurāṇam* is as follows:—

With his capital at the seaport town of Kōduṅgōḷar called also Māhōdai, whose ramparts were the high mountain ranges and whose moat was the deep sea, there reigned a powerful king named Śeṅgōrporaiyaṇ, the overlord of Mālai-nādu. In a branch of this illustrious family was born prince Perumākkōdaiyaṇ also called by the significant title of Kālārīravarivār³ (one who understood the speech of all living beings), a pious devotee of Śiva, who had kept himself unsoiled by the dissipation of a royal court and had dedicated his life to the service of the god at Tiruvāṇjaikkalam in tending the temple flower-gardens and in supplying garlands for the god's daily worship⁴. But when Śeṅgōrporaiyaṇ abdicated at the end of a long reign and retired to an anchorite's life, this prince was selected by the ministers to succeed to the throne and was prevailed upon with great difficulty to don the royal purple after he had obtained divine sanction for his acceptance of the exalted office.

He was of such a pious disposition that when, on his preliminary royal entry into the capital, he came across a washerman whose body was whitened with Fuller's earth (*uvarman*), he made obeisance to the man in the thought that he was a Śaiva *bhakta* smeared with the holy ashes and that his appearance was a timely reminder to himself from on high to persevere in his pious life. On another occasion, it is said that Śiva sent a poet-musician called Bāpabhadra from Madura with a letter of introduction⁵ to him that the bearer should be patronised and well-rewarded with riches and that the king, who was immensely pleased with the high honor that this Divine commission implied, even went to the length of offering his whole kingdom to the god's protégé. His devotion towards god Natarāja of Chidambaram grew in intensity and the great Dancer used to reward his piety by enabling him to

1 சங்கரேஸ்வரபிரமோதயபாபேன கனக மதராவசுபயம்.

தருமவாகுலமங்கலனாய மூலம் ச சேவல் விவிராஜகுமரபிரம்.

Balarāṇakharāṇam, (T. A. S. Vol. IV, p. 109)

2 காமரம் சேரமதாய் சேரஞ்சேரஞ்சேரம் மந்திரமய மந்திரமே கமம்போகமந்திரம்
காமரஞ்சேர கமம்பதர் சேரஞ்சேர கமந்திரமய கமந்திர கமந்திரமே
காமரஞ்சேர கமம்பத சேரஞ்சேர கமந்திர மந்திர மந்திரமே கமந்திர
மேகமந்திர கமந்திர கமந்திர கமந்திர கமந்திர கமந்திர கமந்திர
Tiruttondar-purāṇasāram, v. 42.

3 கமந்திர சேரஞ்சேரஞ்சேர கமந்திர கமந்திர சேர
கமந்திர கமந்திர கமந்திர கமந்திர கமந்திர கமந்திர கமந்திர
Tiruvāṇjaikkalam-purāṇam.

4 சேவலுமே கமந்திர சேரஞ்சேரஞ்சேர, கமந்திர சேரஞ்சேர சேரமதாய் சேவல் சேவலுமே
சேவலுமே கமந்திர, சேவலுமே கமந்திர கமந்திர கமந்திர.
Tiruvāṇjaikkalam.

5 This verse beginning with 'மேகமந்திர' is the first piece in the *Paṇḍitarāṇam*.

hear the tinkling rhythm of his golden anklets (*poṟṟilambu*) at the end of his daily *nāḍā*¹. Failing, however, to hear this accustomed token on a particular day, the king was very much disheartened and would have stabbed himself to death, if Natarāja had not intervened in time to save His votary from an unnatural end. He then learnt that the beautiful hymns sung by the arch-devotee Sundaramūrti in the temple at Chidambaram were so enthralling as to make the god forget his accustomed token to the Chēra king. This incident was a turning point in the life of Chēramān and thenceforward his ardour grew, if anything, more fervid and he was filled with a longing to visit not only Chidambaram the abode of his favourite deity, but also pay homage to the great soul whose songs had kept Śiva spell-bound.

Accordingly he set out from his capital and after passing through the Koṅgu-nāḍu, through which lay in those days one of the highways between the eastern districts and Malai-maṇḍalam, finally reached Chidambaram, where the divine vision which was vouchsafed him evoked a fitting response in the poem named the *Poyyappattandādi*². He then proceeded to Tiruvārūr, the headquarters of Sundaramūrti-Nayanār, and formed with him a memorable friendship which, while earning for the latter the sobriquet of 'Chēramāṅgōḷan', continued unabated in its sincerity till the simultaneous and mysterious exit of both of them from Tiruvaṇjaikkalam. After having composed the *Tirumummaṅkōḍavar*³ in honour of god Valmikanātha during his short stay at Tiruvārūr, the Chēra king then accompanied Sundara on an extensive tour of pilgrimage to many holy temples of Śiva in the Chōla and Pāṇḍya kingdoms, among which are mentioned: Kīlveḷar, Nāgaikkārōṇam, Tirumamukkāḍu (Vedāranyam), Palayam, Agastyan-palli, Kulagar-Kodikkōyil, Tiruppetūr, Madurai, Tiruppāvanam, Tiruvāppavūr, Tiruvēdagam, Tirupparāgum, Korrālam, Kuraibola, Tirunelvēli, Rāmēśvaram, Tiruchēnalliyāl, Kānappēr, Tiruppuṇarvāyil, Pataḷēśvaram, Tirukkandiyūr and Tiruvaḷṇiyāru. Both the friends then cut across the Koṅgudēsam and reached Koduṅgōḷar, where Chēramān entertained Sundara with such pomp and respect as was befitting to the renowned boy-saint.

After a short congenial stay at the Chēra capital, Sundara finally took leave of his royal friend and reached Tiruvārūr loaded with many costly presents and jewels, after undergoing a miraculous adventure with banditti en route at Tirumurugappandi in the Coimbatore District. Some time later, Sundaramūrti-Nayanār paid a second visit to his Chēra friend, after augmenting his fame on the way by the performance of a miracle of the resurrection of a brahman boy at Tirupukkoliyūr (Coimbatore District), and was received with huge ovations by the people of Tiruvaṇjaikkalam and their king. While Sundaramūrti was thus staying in the Chēra capital, god Śiva, it is stated, sent a white elephant to fetch³ the

1 —
அம்பலமேல் அம்பலம் அம்பலமேல்
அம்பலம் அம்பலம் அம்பலமேல்

—Tiruvārūr-ald.

2 This is collected in the *Paṇḍyaśāstram*.

3 —
அம்பலமேல் அம்பலம் அம்பலமேல்
அம்பலம் அம்பலம் அம்பலமேல்

—Kōyil-Tiruvaiyppā, v. 4.

saint back to his original abode Kailāsa, and in obedience to that holy mandate he prepared to start heavenwards; but before setting out, his commiserating thoughts strayed for a moment towards his royal comrade whom he had to leave behind. Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ, who was taking his bath at his palace at that time, vaulted on a horse and rushing to the spot where the elephant was marching with its precious burden, respectfully circumambulated his friend and after muttering the mystic formula of the *pañcāśāhara* into the horse's ear, rose into the air leading the way in front to Mount Kailāsa. The loyal servants of the Chera king, who had witnessed their master mounting heavenwards, waited till he was lost to sight and despairing of his return killed themselves by falling on their upright swords, like the true warriors that they were. On reaching the Silver Mountain, Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ gained audience of Śiva through the recommendation of his friend and sang on that occasion the poem called the *Tirukkailāyāṇṇa-ula*¹ (called also the *Ādi-ula*), which received the god's imprimatur. This poem is said to have been transmitted to this world by a certain Mārttanaṇḍar² who had heard it chanted on the slopes of Kailāsa, while the publicity given to the songs that Sundara hymned forth on his way to the Holy Mount is attributed to Varuṇa, the lord of the oceans.

Perumilalai-Kuṇḍamar, one of the sixty-three devotees, also killed himself in his own place in order to join Sundara on Kailāsa. Auvai, who is said to have been the sister of Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ also reached Kailāsa on this occasion.

Now as regards the period when Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ flourished, its determination is confronted with the usual difficulties attendant on similar questions, namely, that the available materials are so superimposed with much that is purely traditional and supernatural that there is no safe historical foundation to proceed upon. The sources from which such information can be collated may be classified as follows:—

- (i) tradition current in Malabar regarding this king, as recorded in the *Kēraḷōlpatti*;
- (ii) the biographical sketches of this king and of Sundaramūrti, Viṇamūṇḍar, Kōṭṭipaliyār, Maṇakkāṇḍār, Eṇṇāṇḍar, Kalikkāṇḍār, Perumilalai-Kuṇḍamar, and Somaṇḍiār, who were his contemporaries according to the *Periyapūrāṇam*;
- (iii) the *Tiruvilaiyāḍarpurāṇam* of Paraṇḍōṭṭiār, which mentions the deputation of the lustiest Bāṇabhadra to this Chera's court as the 55th of the sixty-four divine sports of god Sundarōṣa of Madura; and
- (iv) other miscellaneous references.

(i) *The Kēraḷōlpatti*, a Malayalam work of no great antiquity or authenticity purporting to be a historical chronicle of the early Kēraḷa kings, places the end of the Chēramāṇ rule in the 5th century (A. D. 428) and relates of a certain Bāṇaperumāḷ, one of them, that he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca on conversion to an

1 This finds a place in the 11th *Tirumurai*.

2 *Purandhara*, see footnote on p. 529.

alien creed. Mr. Logan linking this information with the alleged discovery of a tomb-stone dated 826 A. D. supposed to record the death at Sahar-Mukhal of a certain Hindu royal convert named Abdul-Rahiman-Sāmūri on his return journey to his native land, has tried to trace the origin of the Kollam era to this hypothetical conversion¹. Now that the institution of the era is however attributed² to the foundation of the maritime city of Kollam at about this time and that the truth about the existence and purport of the Arabian epitaph is discredited for want of definite testimony, the tradition of a Chēramāṇ's conversion to Muhammadanism has, by scholars, been dismissed as groundless. It is not impossible that the disappearance of a Chēra king, miraculously or otherwise, the actual conversion of a Zamorin of Calicut to Muhammadanism as stated by the historian Ferishta and the extensions and improvements to the seaport of Quilon at the instance of Sapir Išo and his thriving co-religionists, which may have all taken place within a few decades of each other were commingled in a haphazard fashion when the chronicle was patched up a few centuries ago. That the date given for the Chēramāṇ in the chronicle is not trustworthy has been accepted by all, and no reliance need be placed on the account which terminates the Chēramāṇ rule in the first half of the 5th century A. D.

(ii) From the *Periāpurāṇam*, it is learnt that the Śiva temple at Tirukkandiyūr, one of the *Aṣṭaśivasthānam* and *Saptasthānam*, a mile to the south of Tiruvaiyyāru in the Tanjore District, was visited by Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ in company with Sundaramūrti and that it was only in its vicinity that, at the command of god Pañchanādēśvara, the river Kaveri parted its swollen waters so as to leave a dry ford for the two devotees to walk across with ease³. It is therefore highly probable that the Śiva temple at Tirukkandiyūr in the Chēngannūr taluk of the Travancore State, which is considered to be one of the oldest in Kerala and to have been constructed by Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ himself, was perhaps consecrated by him as a remembrancer of this episode, and as we know from epigraphical sources⁴ that it came into existence in A. D. 823 two years before the starting of the Kollam era and had to be renovated in Kollam 392, Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ, its reputed author, may also be assigned to the beginning of the 9th century A. D.

The *Periāpurāṇam* which has been considered on all hands to be a quasi-historical compilation, denuded of the few supernatural incidents that may not be acceptable in a hyper-critical sense, does not supply in the lives of Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ or of his Nayanmār contemporaries any clues that could help in the determination of their age with certainty. We only know that, on the abdication of a Chēra king named Śeṅgōrpopaiyaṇ who was ruling at Koṇṭṭōlūr, the next in succession Perumākkōdaiyār, the Śaiva devotee, ascended the throne. But unfortunately the names Śeṅgōrpopaiyaṇ (the just Chēra) and Perumākkōdaiyār (the great Chēra) sound more like titles than individual appellations, *Peraiyaṇ* and

1 *Trav.-State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 225 et seq.

2 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II, p. 76.

3 *Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ-Periāpurāṇam*, no. 136-9.

4 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. III, p. 608.

5 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. I, p. 290.

Kōdai being but synonymous with Chera; but although it may be hazardous to assert that they do not represent the distinctive names of two Chera kings, they are however a pair of designations too vague to yield any historical landmark. The Chōla and Pāndya contemporaries of Chēramān are also referred to by their dynastic titles of *Valavan* and *Tēnnavan*, which are absolutely useless for purposes of definite identification. The life-sketches of the Nāyanmār contemporaries of this king are also similarly barren of information, except that Sundara is mentioned to have been the *protégé* of a certain Narasiṅgamupaiyariyan, the chief of Milādu, who had his headquarters at Tirukkōyilār in the South Arcot District, and Sundara himself refers to a weak Pallava king of that period to whom his vassals stopped the payment of tribute. From the Tirunāvalūr and Tirukkōyilār inscriptions a few generations of Milādu chiefs with names Narasimha and Rāma are understood to have ruled in the years A. D. 954, 957, 1059 and 1149, and it is just vaguely possible that a Narasiṅgamupaiyariyan may have lived in the beginning of the 9th century A. D., as Sundara's patron.¹ The reference to the Pallava also points to a period when their power was at a low ebb, and this fits in well with the reign of Dantivarman (780-830) in whose later years Tondai-maṇḍalam was invaded from the north by Gōvinda III (804) and on the south by the Pāndya, Varaguna Mahārāja² (825).

(iii) The *Tiruvēlaiyādal-purāṇam* of Paraijōtiyār which professes to give a chronological narration of the sixty-four divine sports of god Chokkanātha of Madura places in the reign of a Pāndya king named Varaguna, the following two episodes which constitute the 34th (*Vīraṇu-virra-paḍalam*) and 55th (*Tirumugam-kōṭuttu-paḍalam*) divine sports of that book, namely, the discomfiture Emaṇatha the northern lute-player on behalf of the local bard Bhadra, and the latter's deputation to a Chēramān-Perumāḷ of Koduṅgōlūr with a poem-inscribed oḍjan order for presents. Although the scheme of chronology adopted by Paraijōtiyār is a medley of tradition, myth and royal names, it may however be examined, all other things apart, whether the location of Bhadra in the reign of a Pāndya king who has the name of Varaguna is consistent with the above suppositions relating to Chēramān-Perumāḷ and Sundara. We know from reliable sources that Varaguna-Mahārāja, the grandson of Jaṭila-Parāntaka (770 A. D.) and himself the grandfather of Varagunavarman who ascended the throne in A. D. 862 must have been reigning in the beginning of the 9th century; and as it is also known that this Pāndya sovereign was a devout Śaiva (bhakta), there is nothing improbable in linking together the above traditional accounts and in assuming Chēramān to have been this Pāndya's contemporary and to have lived in the first quarter of the 9th century A. D. The Bapa-Bhadra episode is also referred to in the *Kallaḍam*; but

1. There have been kings with these names—
Kuttuvay-Kōdai, Mākkōdai, Irumbōgai, (*Peruvayaru*) and Kottuv-Pogaiyan (T. A. S. Vol. III).

2. *Syāmāṇi*, Vol. III, p. 320.

3. *The Pallavas*, p. 76.

4. மீர்ப்புக் கோலக் கீர்ப்புக் கீர்ப்புக் கோலக் கோலக்
கோலக் கோலக் கோலக் கோலக் கோலக் — *Vīraṇu-virra-paḍalam*.
மீர்ப்புக் கோலக் கீர்ப்புக் கோலக்
கோலக் கோலக் கோலக் கோலக் கோலக். — *ibid*, v. 58.

as its author Kalladanār¹ is, on other grounds,² considered to have been a later poet different from his namesake of the last Academy;—this mention need not necessarily militate against the assignment of Chēramān to the beginning of the 9th century.

(iv) The tradition stating that one of the offspring of the couple Bhagavan and Ādi, who was brought up by the Adigan³ and who was eventually raised to the Chēra throne was the Chēramān-Perumal of the *Periyapurāṇam* is not supported by any evidence except that of a verse⁴ popularly attributed to Auvaṣiār, which she is said to have addressed in derision to the Chēra king, when god Vināyaka, pleased with her devotion, had raised her to heaven with his proboscis, sometime before the mounted pair Sundaramūrti and Chēramān could arrive at the Kailāsa gates. This is another instance wherein different episodes are mixed up together promiscuously.

(v) In his learned article on the age of Jñānasambodha, Prof. Sundaram Pillai finds an implied reference to certain Śaiva Nayanmāras in the minor *stōtras* of Śaṅkara, and if the *Śivabhujāṅga*, *Śivānandalaharī* and *Saṁdaryalaharī* are the indisputable compositions of the author of the great *Bhāṣyas*, then the passing reference in the stanza of the *Śivabhujāṅga*⁵ may be taken to contain a covert sneer at Sundara's matrimonial foibles, which however veneered over by some mythic varnish was considered too big a blemish to be winked at by Īyarkōṇ-Kalikāmanāyagar, who would rather die of his colic rather than submit to be cured by Sundara. The date of Śaṅkara has been accepted by many scholars to be the beginning of the 9th century (788 to 820 A. D.); and in that case, it is also possible that the Sundara's Tiruvogiyār episode may have reached his ears.

Thus all the available data tend towards the ascription of Chēramān-Perumal-Nayanār to the beginning of the 9th century A. D., and the temptation now offers itself to consider whether this royal saint of the Tamil hagiology can be the same as the Chēra king Rājatēklara⁶ of the Taḥmana-Ilam copper-plate record. In support of that possible identification these points may be noted.

1 பரிபாடல்புரி வினாயகியுள்ளும், குடமோடுதோன் செட்டத்தோன்மொ, மலையுழிவந்த ந குறைய்குறி, பம்புருத்தரித்த வினமொடுதோன், பெற்றிடுதோடுதொன் அறகிடுத்தருளிப், னர தன் அருத்தல் கூடந் தோனன்
Kalladanār, v. 11. ll. 25-30

2 *Sentamāl*, Vol. XV, p. 107-111.

3 அரும்பார் தோன் அரும்பார் அருள், அந்நாளின்பின் அந்நாள அனாதரன் — *Kapilar-āgaral*.
but this Kapilar is believed to be a more modern imitator of the poet of the Last Academy.

4 மதரமொழிவிதுகமயன் செழவன் மனமுயல்
முதிர்ச்சியவன்மார்தோளோ முதிர்ச் போன் முழங்கி
செய்கருகின்ற யாநீவுத் தெருமதல் பின்பருத்
குறைய்குறி எதற்கு இழைய்குறி எதற்கு குறைய்குறொ-

5 न शक्नोमि कर्तुं परमोदलेखे कथं प्रीयसे त्वं न जाने विरीक्ष ।

तदा हि प्रसन्नोसि कस्यपि कान्तामुत्तोद्दिहो वा पितुदोदिहो वा ॥ *Śivabhujāṅgam*, v.

In *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI, p. 109, the Prof. finds fault with Mr. V. Venkayya's identification of कान्तादोहि with Sundara and says that Īyarkōṇ-Nayanār was intended.

6 *Trans. Arch. Series*, Vol. II, p. 13.

In the Tiruvalla copper-plate record of the beginning of the 11th century(?) the king has been mentioned as *Sennittalaiadigaḷ Rājasekharan*,¹ which carries with it the additional significance of his devotion to god Śiva at Sennittalai, containing an early phallic emblem of the *liṅga*.²

Further, the king begins his *Talamana-illam* record with the words '*Namas-śivāya*'³ in place of the almost universal '*Śaṣṭi-ārī*', and although this formula has been met with elsewhere in a few instances, it is nevertheless rare and may be considered to be significant of the special devotion of the king to god Śiva.

The paleography of the plate also points to about the beginning of the 9th century as its age and this was the period in which Sundaramūrti-Nāyanār and his friend Chēramāṭṭ-Perumāḷ are considered to have flourished. As it is quite possible that Chēramāṭṭ-Perumāḷ was a dynastic title meaning 'the Chēra king', king Rājasekhara may have been known in the Tanjil Districts exclusively by that title in the same way as the slightly later Chēra kings Sthānu-Ravi and Vijarāga-dēva were known in the records of those districts as *Chēramāṭṭ Kōttāṭṭu-Ravi* and *Chēramāṭṭ Vijayarāga-dēva*.

There is again the tradition recorded in the *Śaṅkara-cōya* that a Kēraḷa king called Rājasekhara was a contemporary of the great Śaṅkara, to whom he showed three dramas of his own composition. This incident is found in an amplified form in the *Jagadgururattanamālātara* of Sadāśiva-brahmaṇḍa of the 16th century, and its commentator has further supplemented the information by saying that the three and a *sattaka* which Rājasekhara showed to Śaṅkara were *Bālarā-māyaṇa*, *Vidhātālabbhāṭṭika*, *Prachandapāṇḍava* and *Karpāramanjari*. As these works are known to be the works of a northern poet called Rājasekhara who flourished in the court of Mahēndrapāla of the middle of the 10th century and who could not have been Śaṅkara's contemporary, the author of the *Śara* was perhaps confused by the similarity of names into the identification of a Kēraḷa king Rājasekhara with the northern poet of a later date. This leaves the *Śaṅkararīya* statement that a Kēraḷa king was the author of three dramas still unexplained, and it is not known if *Mādhavāchārya* was himself misled by the identity in the names of the two different individuals.

Mr. S. Paramesvara Ayyar M. A., B. L., has, in a learned article in Malayalam⁴ attempted to solve the difficulty by supposing that Rājasekhara may be a title of the Chēra king Kulasekharavarman, the accredited author of the two dramas *Ta-pati-amaraṇam* and *Subhadradhamaṇjaya* and of a hypothetical third called *Vichchinnābhishikṣaka*. Against this it may be said that the name of the Kēraḷa king of the Tiruvalla copper-plate cannot have been a title like Rājasekharivarman or Maṇavarman of the Tanjil records, because of the specific mention of him as Rājaraḷa-Paramesvara-Bhaṭṭaraka-Rājasekhara-dēva, the first three being his titles and the last word his distinctive name. The word *Namasśivāya* prefacing his record is also against his being identified with Kulasekhara, the author of the

1 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 178.

2 *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, p. 69.

3 Extracted on page 10 of the *Trans. Arch. Series*, Vol. II.

4 *Itihasa* for 1917.

Mukundamālā and the *Tirumōḻi*, which are saturated with a deep and almost exclusive devotion for Vishnu.

Thus it may be tentatively assumed that Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ was identical with Rājasekharadeva of the copper-plate record and that he lived in the first quarter of the 9th century, until other convincing arguments proving the contrary are forthcoming.

In this connection it may be stated that Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ has elsewhere been identified with Bāṇa-Perumāḷ¹ (4th century A. D.), the fifth viceroy of the Perumāḷ line according to the *Kēraḷāḍipattī*, on the strength of a possible reference to him in the 8th verse of the *Tirumōḻittāṁmalai-paḍigam* of Sundaramūrti:

வாமலிவரணன் வந்து வழிதருதெனக்கேடுவதென்
செய்யியலான தந்தாடுதந்தான் மலையுத்தமனே—(v. 8);

which has been interpreted to express the grateful recognition on the part of Sundara of the gift of an elephant made to him by the Chēra king. According to tradition, this *paḍigam* was sung by Sundara on the eve of his departure to Kallama on the celestial white elephant that had been sent to fetch him up; and even if this mythological colouring is ignored, there is unmistakable evidence throughout all the verses of the poem in each individual stanza of which the gift of an elephant is dutifully acknowledged, to indicate that Sundara refers to god Śiva himself as the donor and not to any mortal, king and friend though he may be. The expressions of humility and devotion used in the verse can more fitly be considered to have been addressed to god rather than be applied to the Chēra king who stood in the relation of a disciple to Sundara. These instances are the following:—

காலினேனைப்பொருட் படுத்தவான், னனுதிர்வெறுசெய்தான் (v. 1)
தொண்டனேனை, வந்தமாய் கிதம்பெழுகானையுள் புரிந்த (v. 3)
வானாங்குடர் முய்கை, தஞ்சநன் மரத்துவித்தத் தொண்டனேன்பாமல்லை-
தொரு, பெறுகினவானை தந்தாடுதந்தான் மலையுத்தமனே (v. 6)²
இத்தான் மாலையாமன்னெழிலவர் பிடுபெயசெல்லாம்,
வந்தென்கொள்ளவென்றை மத்தாரனை யுள்புரிந்து (v. 9)

Vāṇa though it may be an alternative form of Bāṇa is also a contraction of the word *vāṇa* signifying 'one who dwells', and *varamalindhaṇ* which has been taken as the 'Bāṇa(-perumāḷ) of great gifts' may equally appropriately refer to god 'the bestower of bounteous gifts'. It is no doubt true that Chēra kings were proverbially lavish in their munificence and that many poems have extolled their gifts of elephants to poets and other suppliants; but the *paḍigam* under reference does not appear to immortalise a mere mortal's gift.

The incidents which Sundara is supposed to have recorded in these verses have given rise to the story that Sundara ascended to heaven with his mortal body

1 Against this identification of this Śaiva saint with Bāṇapperumāḷ of the 4th century A. D. it may be stated that the reference to Tiruvalluvar contained in the *Tirakkūṭṭaḍṇāṁmalai* as *paṇḍaiyār* amounts to point to the conclusion that its author may have flourished many centuries after the ancient poet of the 1st century A. D.

(a) கண்டு செட்டுண்டுவித்ததந்தியுமென்புது
மொண்டொழுகன்னெயுமென்ற—பண்டபொருட்நீளாமல்.

(b) இவ்வாறு பெருங்குமென்றுவர் செவ்வா
மெய்க்குரு செவ்வர் மெய்பெய்துதி—மொண்டானே.

The sources from which the material for this account can be collected are the *Divyasūri-charitam*¹ of Garuḍavāhana-Paṇḍita (12th century), *Guruparamparā-prabhāvam*² of Pimpalāgiya-Perumāḷ-Jīyar (14th century), *Upadēśaratnamālā* of Maṇavāḷamamuni (14th century), *Periya-tirumōḍi-aḍaitu* of Kandaḍaiyappan (14th century) and a few other later Vaiṣṇava works, which furnish certain traditional landmarks in the life of Kulasekhara interspersed, more or less, with incidents of a supernatural character, that have 'mistletoed' on the original biographical trunk with the lapse of time.

The Saint was born according to these accounts in the royal Chera dynasty at Vanji (Tiruvāṇjaikkulam) in the 28th year of the Kali era,³ corresponding to the cyclic year Parābhava,⁴ on the Thursday of the month of Māsi, which had dvādasi-tithi of the bright fortnight and Punarvasu-nakshatra. He was considered as an incarnation of the Śrī-Kaustubha of god Viṣṇu and as his birth in the royal family was considered to be in answer to the devout petition of the old childless king Dridhavrata, the new born prince was named Kulasekhara, the crest jewel of his race. When the heir-apparent came of age, the old king abdicated the kingdom and retired to a quiet *vānaprastha*'s life, and the new king Kulasekhara ascended the ancient Chera throne to the joy of his ministers and subjects whom he pleased by his wisdom and equity. His devotion to god Viṣṇu also grew apace and he often spent his time in listening to expositions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the other sacred epics and his money in giving largesses to the Vaiṣṇava devotees who mustered strong in his capital. His piety and sincerity were so great, it is said, that on one occasion when the pathetic story was being narrated as to how Rāvaṇa carried away the helpless Sita from the sylvan hermitage, he at once issued orders to marshal out his army for the invasion of Ceylon and the punishment of the abductor⁵. The minister who felt jealous of the favours showered by the king on the Vaiṣṇava *bhaktas*, tried by some ruse to bring back the king from his pious infatuation, and with this end in view they trumped up on the devotees a false charge of the theft of some temple jewels; but the stratagem did not work, as Kulasekhara vindicated their innocence by the miracle of inserting his hand in a pot

1 Appendix to the *History of Vaishnavism*, by Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, M. A.

2 तस्याममूर्धेरकुलप्रदीपः श्रीकौस्तुभात्मा कुलमोक्षरश्मयः ।

मदीपातमौपुनर्वसूयहिने हरेः पूर्वकटाक्षरश्मयः ॥—*Divyastotricaritam*.

3 *செய்த குறையென்கொண்டே அந்நினைவழிநெய் வறையாழிப் புனிதராய்த் தந்த மகன்*
—*Pimpalāgiyaperumāḷ Jīyar*.

4 *செ 28 அகழாய் வரையகழாய் மசீத் திவதாரத் செவ்வீதிநெய் அகழ புனரவசு நகத்*
—*Guruparamparāprabhāvam*.

5 सर्वे परामये मासे कुम्भे वे शुक्लपक्षे ।

श्रीमत् पुनर्वसूतारे दशम्यां शुक्लान्तरे ॥

कौस्तुभादेन संभवे महात्मा कुलमोक्षरम् ।

Prapannamritam.

6 श्रीरामभक्तिरसपूर्वमनस्सुत श्री.

रामात्मभावसहितस्सगृहीतवद्गः ।

रामावगममरावगमननेयु-

स्तिन्तुं विवेश कुलमोक्षरभूमिपो यः ॥

—*Balaramakharatan* (T. A. S. IV, p. 109).

containing a live cobra and drawing it out unscathed.¹ The royal saint then threw off the reigns of government in disgust and after anointing the prince Dri-dhavrata who had been named after his grandfather, started out on a pilgrimage to the holy isle of Śrīrangam and spent there some years, serving and worshipping god Alagiyamanavāla of that temple after bestowing on him his pious daughter in marriage. This last incident is also mentioned in the *Koyilolugur*² to the effect that after Kāli year 50, Kulāśekhara, the lord of the three Tamil kingdoms of Chēra, Pāṇḍya and Chōla, married his daughter Sōlakulavallī to the god of Śrīrangam, giving away his whole wealth as dowry, and that he built the Sēnāiven-rān-mandapa and repaired the prakāra which was thereafter called the Kulāśekhara-tiruvēdi. He then visited the holy Vaiṣṇava temples of Tiruvāṅḍam, Tiruvavōdiya, Tillaī-Chitrakūṭam, Tirukkannapuram, Tirumalirupjōlai and Tiruviguvakkōdu and finally settled down at Brahmōḍēsam near Tirukkurukūr, the sanctified birth place of Nammālvār, where he shook off his mortal coil at the advanced age of sixty-seven. ³

In the account extracted above from the orthodox versions of the life of the Ālvār, the chronological detail fixing the date of his birth in the beginning of the Kāli era will not bear scrutiny and is, on the face of it, an absurd fib introduced by the later hagiographers to envelop their hero in a sacred halo of antiquity. The traditional limits for Kulāśekhara's period are Nammālvār, the famous saint of Tirukkurukūr on the one hand, and Tirumangaiyān, who is considered as the last of the twelve Vaiṣṇava apostles on the other. Epigraphy furnishes for the later limit of the Ālvār's time two records, one dated in the 18th year of the Chōla king Kulōttuṅga I* (= A. D. 1088) which provided for the daily recital of the *Tēttarundīrai* (the second *Tirumōḍi*) in the Śrīraṅgam temple and another, somewhat earlier, belonging to the reign of the viceroy Chōla-Keraladeva† (A. D. 1056), according to which arrangement was made for a similar recital from the Ālvār's work. Proceeding nearer, it has also been possible to arrive at a still earlier lower limit for Kulāśekhara from a determination of the time of Tirumangai-Ālvār,⁴ who has been found according to the latest researches to have flourished as a late contemporary of the Pallava king Dantivarman (A. D. 779-830) and possibly also during a few years of the reign of his successor Nandivarman (A. D. 830-54), in consideration of the saint's traditional long life of 105 years. It follows therefore that the Chēra Saint may have lived somewhere in the first half of the 9th century if Nammālvār,⁵ his predecessor, is assigned to the end of the 8th and beginning of the 9th century A. D., as has been done by some scholars.

The astronomical details of the date of birth of Kulāśekhara furnished in the *Guruparamparas* which carry an air of genuineness about them on account of their snug completeness have been calculated by Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai

1 *Alvar-Corollary* குடியசம்பந்தமுண்டியகரம் காப்பீடு.

2 *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI.

3 *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p. 148. *Ancient India*, page 461: but the *Madras Epigl. Report* for 1906 refers only to Tirumangai's *Tirumōḍitūlakam*.

4 *Tamil eṇṇālār*, p. 129.

5 *History of Vaishnavism*, page 21.

to be equivalent to A. D. 767; but he has himself expressed the opinion¹ that these data have not the authenticity of contemporary observations, as they are often found to have been cooked up by retrospective calculations by the biographers who sketched out the Saint's lives at a later time. Their acceptance will therefore have to depend upon the confirmation received by other independent historical or literary evidence.

Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao has attempted to fix the date of Kulasekhara as A. D. 825 on the strength of an historical reference in one of the verses of the *Perumāḷ-Tirumōḻi* which, according to his interpretation, is made to refer to the defeat and death of a Pallava king of Mallai (Mahāmalla-puram) at the Chēra king's hands and of the fact that, as the Pāṇḍya king Varaguna I is also considered to have invaded the southern portion of the Pallava-dominions during the closing years of Dantivarma's reign (825) proceeding as far as Arasūr in Tondainādu.² Kulasekhara may, in all probability, have distinguished himself in this campaign as a Pāṇḍya vassal. Although Kulasekhara has been assigned to about the same period in this paper also, the correctness of the argument cited above may be examined. A recent writer in the *Sendamīl*³ has advanced a theory suggesting that the *sāṟṟukkavis* tagged on to the end of the *devades* of verses of the *Āḷvārs* need not necessarily be the composition of the respective authors, but may have been supplemented by later poets between the 10th and 12th centuries after the *Nāḷayirappabandham* was collated in its present anthological form; and that this view finds support in the fact that, at least in the *Perumāḷ-Tirumōḻi*, the self-laudation expressed in the final stanzas is not in general consonance with the spirit of humility and detachment pervading the other verses of the poems. For instance, the *bhakta* who would discard a royal life and rest content to be born a fish in the hill-springs of blessed Vengadam⁴ cannot be expected to call himself at the end of the same poem as a Kulasekhara of a moderate javelin, or elsewhere, as the king who shone with a resplendent sword at the head of a terrific army, as the lord of the triple kingdom of Chēra, Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya. If therefore the theory of interpolation can be accepted, the argument that Kulasekhara has referred to his own achievement loses its weight as the line quoted is in the 11th verse of his 7th *Tirumōḻi*; but another writer in the same journal has criticised this view and has made a bold stand on the orthodox side. Leaving aside therefore this discussion about the real authorship of the *sāṟṟukkavis* of the *Prabandham*, it may be noted that the line extracted for illustration does not admit of the historical interpretation suggested above. This *Tirumōḻi* of ten verses was intended

1 Chairman's remarks on same, page 54.

2 தமிழ்நாட்டின்மேற்புறம் தங்கிய
யாள் செழந்தி மல்கிவந்த மயத்த
மல்கிவந்த மல்கி செவ்வா கருத்த
செவ்வா செவ்வா புறம்பிய புறம்பிய
செவ்வாசைமார்-மகனமுறுவிய
செவ்வாய் குவசெவ்வா செவ்வா
செவ்வாசைத்தமிழ் மல்கியவந்த
செவ்வாய் குவசெவ்வாசை

— *Perumāḷ-Tirumōḻi*, VII. 11.

3 The *Pallavas* page 77.

4 *Sendamīl*, Vol. XXI, pp. 333-40, and pp. 429-42.

5 *Perumāḷ-Tirumōḻi*, IV, 2.

to express the rapture of Dēvakī at meeting her divine son, who had been separated from her during all these long years of her incarceration by her vengeful brother and who had now returned to her after an adventurous life of exile spent in Gōkula, culminating in the slaying of Kamsa himself in a boxing match at Mathurā. The fond mother yearningly, almost jealously, pictures to herself the pleasurable sight of all the lovable attractions and juvenile sports of Krishna which was denied to her and Vasudeva, the real parents, but which was vouchsafed to the more fortunate pair Yāsōda and Nanda, the foster-parents at Nandavraja, with whom Krishna had spent his eventful boyhood. Her pathetic catalogue of the Gōkula incidents, from the purely infantile pranks of Krishna up to his youthful adventures with Gōvārdhanagiri, Vrishabhāsura, the serpent Kālīya and the demoness Putanā, ends with his final combat with the arch-enemy Kamsa himself; and the Ālvār therefore winds up the last verse saying that he versified in his own sweet style this dolorous lament of Dēvakī, which she may have naturally poured forth to Krishna on the occasion of his first meeting her in prison after the death of the lord of Mallai. Mallai, the usual synonym for Mahāmallaipuram appears to have been used here to refer to Mathurā, Kamsa's capital, (Mallai-mānagarim = the prosperous city—of athletes?). No defeat or death of a Pallava king seems therefore to have been hinted at in this verse. It may also be noted that Kulasekhara has nowhere, in the other decades, exceeded the limit of the latter half of the final verses to embalm his name and titles; and even if this verse is taken as an exception to that rule, the interpretation put upon it is far-fetched, for the epithet 'who returned after killing the lord of Mallai' (மல்லையாணந்தக்கொன்றவன் தன்னவன் செலுத்தியத் தீங்களை) has to be taken to qualify the incomparable Divine child* (மாயத்து எல்லையில் தீங்களை) rather than Kulasekhara, whose name occurs further on in the other half of the stanza and whose work was only the versification of this lament and nothing more. That Krishna actually met his mother Dēvakī at Mathurā soon after the death of its tyrant-king, is described in the *Bhāgavatam* and is further referred to in the fourth verse of this poem, where Dēvakī says, கண்ணே! . . . இனையென்பததை இன்று வந்தன் கண்ணுற்புகழுகுவேற்கு இவன் தாயென கிளைத்த அளவில்! If கக்குகளை should refer to Kulasekhara, who returned from his victorious battle to worship Krishna in gratitude, it is inexplicable why the name of that Krishna's temple is not specifically mentioned, as on the other occasions at Kannapuram, Chitrakūṭam and Virūvakkōḍa. The last verse of the 9th *Tirumoli* or Daśaratha's Lament² is also worded in a similar spirit and only its latter

1 It is interesting to note that Pillaiapparamai Ayyangar makes use of the pun on the word Mallai = athletes and Mahāmallaipuram in the verse:-

செறிப்பண்பித்தத் தீங்களித்தந் தாய்
முறித்தவிழப்பாங்கியயோந்—மெறித்த
தருக்கடம்மலிங்குமாயத்தன்மதுமொன்ற மெருடு
தருக்கடம்மலிங்குமார்

—*Narayanāyappanāndan*, v. 93.

But Kulasekhara refers only to Mathur in his verse.

2 மாரித்தமருசெருவாங்கையுள்
வளம்புக அநனுக்கு ஆற்று
தாரித்த தடவரைத்தோம் தயாத் தாய்
புலம்பிய அப்புவம்பன் தங்கை
கூர்ந்த யென் வளவன் செழியர் கோம்
குமடக் குளசோயன் செழிசெய்த
செரித்த தழிழாங்கி—இவன் வளவன்
தெளிந்தான் செவ்விரைகு

—*Tirumoli*, IX. 11.

half has been reserved, as usual, for the inevitable colophon. The Pallava king Dantivarman whom Kulasekhara is considered to have encountered in A. D. 825 is not also known to have died (வரசன் உறந்தான்) at that time, as other records of his 49th and 51st years of reign have been found at Gudimallam and Tiruchchanur¹.

From the *Travancore State Manual*² we learn that in the beginning of the Kollam era a brahman-poet called Paṭṭattu Vasudēva-Bhaṭṭatiri, who began life as a servant in the house of a priest, was miraculously instilled with the poetic muse by eating a few plantains given him by the god at Tiruviḷakkāvu in Kēraḷa, and that he composed the two kāvyas, *Yudhishṭhiravijayam* and *Tripuradahanam*. In the Palace Library at Trivandrum are found the manuscripts of these two works which are stated to have been composed by a poet of the name of Vasudēva. Of these the first work has been commented upon by a certain Chokkanātha and is available in the Palace Library, while another by the commentator, Rāghaya-kavi alias Śrīkantha, is also understood to exist; but the text has been published by the Nirnayasagara Press together with a third commentary of Rājānaka Ratnakantha, a poet who flourished in the time of the Mughal Emperor Aurangazib. From the latter fact and also because a manuscript of the work was discovered at Kashmir, its editor in the *Kāvyamālā Series*³ has hazarded the erroneous conjecture, that both the poet and the king whom he mentions may have belonged to Northern India. The other kāvya called *Tripuradahanam*, which does not appear to have been published hitherto, is also from the pen of the same author, as will be shown in the sequel. In the first few verses⁴ of the *Yudhishṭhiravijayam*, the

1 Nos. 226 and 261 of the Madras Collection for 1903 and 1904.

2 *State Manual*, Vol. III, p. 427.

3 Introduction to *Yudhishṭhiravijayam* in the *Kāvyamālā Series*, No. 60.

काशीरामनारायण सम्प्रदाय निरुद्धाचार्येण काशीरिषावेति पारिवर्षिकी भवेताम् । अत एव
अस्योपरि काशीरिकाचार्यकृतकृतैव व्याख्या सधुपलब्धा ॥

- 4 अस्मि स गजराजगती रावरो येन गतमुपराजगती ।
भीष्ममधिकं कवयः स्तुर्वन्ति जन्म वदिवमधिकं कवयः ॥ ४ ॥
सरसो भूरिष्ठायाः समानफलदायिनी च भूरिष्ठायाः ।
सविनयसौभा जनता यज्ञाज्ये यस्य मुनि यक्षो भाजनता ॥ ५ ॥
तस्य च वसुधामवतः काले कृतमेवमस्य वसुधामवतः ।
वेदानामध्यायी भारतगुह्यमवदाधनामध्यायी ॥ ६ ॥
ये प्राप रमा कार्यं देवी च गिरौ पुराणपरमाचार्यम् ।
यमशुभसन्तोदान्तं परमेश्वरमुपदिशन्ति सन्तोदान्तम् ॥ ७ ॥
ज्ञानसमग्रामेयं निवसन्तं विप्रमुत्तमग्रामे वम् ।
तिलकं भूमावाहुर्वस्वार्थेषु दत्तभूतिभूमावाहुः ॥ ८ ॥
समजनि कवितस्य प्रवणक्षिप्त्वाऽभुवर्तकवितस्य ।
काव्यानामालोके पटुमन्त्रो कानुदेवनामा लोके ॥ ९ ॥
श्रीर्हिमदध्रां तेन स्मरता भारतमुपामदज्जनेन ।
जगदुपहासाय मिता पार्यकवा कल्पपापहा वा यमिता ॥ १० ॥

author says that he composed the work in the reign of a king called Kulāśekhara of elephant gait, who dispelled the sorrow of his subjects, whose terrible battle-fields were extolled by poets as hovered over by vultures, whose country abounded in shady trees and yielded bumper harvests, whose subjects were peace-loving and who was himself a fit repository of fame. In this reign there lived a devout teacher named Bhārataguru (an expounder of the *Bhārata* by profession?) well-versed in the Vēdas and a pet of both Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī, who was considered a very Paramēśvara in his qualities (was he also called Paramēśvara?), who was of unfathomed knowledge, who lived in an *agrahāra* peopled by pious brahmins, who was called a *tilaka* (by *pāṇḍits*) and whose hands bestowed extensive gifts of lands to the needy. To such a preceptor who delighted in perusing good *kāvya*s, Vāsudēva became a willing disciple and with the idea of acquiring undying fame, he whose mind was steeped in the *Bhārata* lore composed in the *yamaka* style the story of Pārtha (Yudhiṣṭhira) anticipating, however, the world's ridicule.

In the *Mukundamālā* which is admitted on all hands to be the composition of the Chēra king Kulāśekharavarman *alias* Kulāśekhara-Ālvār, the last verse is found as follows in all the hitherto printed editions:—

वसु मिथी धृतिधरी रविलोकवरी
मित्रे द्विजन्मवरिचरित्रावभूताम् ।
नेनाम्बुजाक्षराणाम्बुजपरपदेन
राजा कृता सुतिरिचं कुलमेवरेण ॥

But the manuscript of an annotated copy of the same poem, discovered by Mr. S. Paramesvara Ayyar M. A., B. L., M. R. A. S. of Trivandrum, offers the following reading for the first half of that verse:

वसु मिथी धृतिधरी रविलोकवरी
मित्रे द्विजन्मवरिचरित्रावभूताम् ।

and this is explained in the commentary in the sense that a (*Nambūdiri*) brahman called Ravi and a *pārāśara*, a member of the *vāriyar*-caste known by the name or title of *Lōkavīra* were the friends of the royal author¹. The *Tripuradahana* which is written in the same *yamaka* style as its sister-poem the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya* and which may, on this single argument, be pronounced to be the work of the same author has this piece of information to give, viz., that it was composed by the son of Ravi²; and its commentator, a certain Nīlakaṭṭha (c. 13th century) has also identified this *रविभूः* with Vāsudēva himself³. It is also quite appropriate that

1 Some other scholars find in this verse an implied reference to Kulāśekhara's contemporaries, the brahman devotee Tondraṭṭippōḍi and the *pārāśara* Tṛupṭāśālvār; and quote also 'குடிமுத்து அ ரகாவே! எழுந்தருளும் தோண்டிரப்படுகுடி, ஆடரம் பூதில் சகலமே துடைப்படும் வேட மை எல்லாமே' (II, 8) but the reference is by no means conclusive.

Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar has *द्विजन्मवरिचरित्रावभूताम्* and *Bṛishastira-muktāhara* has *रवि-लोकवरी मित्रे द्विजन्मवरिचरित्रावभूताम्* ।

2 मतिबलमासाद्य मित्रं पुरदहने रविभुजा समासायमिदम्

—*Tripuradahana*.

3 त्रिपुरदहनसंगं कान्धमेतद्विधातुं कविरथ रविमुत्तुर्वासुदेवाभिधानः ।

मित्रमभरितेन स्वल्पमीशानसंगं नतजनहितं तं स्तूतिं विज्ञातेनीतः ॥ —Nīlakaṭṭha's commentary

poet Vāsudēva should have dedicated his *Yudhishthiravijayam*, a Vaishṇava composition, to Kulasekhara the great Vaishṇava bhakta and the author of the *Mukundamālā* and *Tirumoli*.

It is therefore reasonable to identify king Kulasekhara who has been glorified in the *Yudhishthiravijayam* by Vāsudēva, son of Ravi, with Kulasekhara-Ālvār, the author of the *Mukundamālā* and the friend of Ravi and to assign the royal saint and the poet Vāsudēva to the beginning of the Kollam era.

Two dramas of the names of *Tapatisamvaranām*¹ and *Subhadrādhanañ-jayam*² published as Nos. XI and XIII of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series are found to be the works of a king named Kulasekharavarman, who styles himself as the lord of Mahodayapura, (Kodungōlur to the north of Cochin) and the crest-jewel of the Kēraḷa dynasty. It is learnt that he was also the author of an earlier prose work called the *Ācharyamanjari*³. From the spirit of sincere devotion to god Viṣṇu that pervades the two dramas and from the similarity of ideas expressed in the *bharaṇāḍkya* and some other stanzas of these works with those in the *Mukundamālā*, the inference has been drawn by scholars⁴ that the two authors, who were both of them kings called Kulasekhara were identical; and as the *Mukundamālā* is the production of the Kēraḷa king Kulasekhara who was later on canonised as an Ālvār, the two dramas have also been considered as the works of the Vaishṇava saint. In a verse generally attributed to Rājasekhara,⁵ who may be the same as the author of *Balarāmayanam* etc., who flourished in the first half of the 10th century, some well-deserved eulogy is bestowed on the merits of Kulasekhara's *Ācharyamanjari*; and from this, the lower limit of the latter author was fixed in the beginning of the 9th century, allowing a somewhat long interval for his work to earn such popularity in the distant north. The omission of the name of the preeminent dramatist Bhavabhūti (the contemporary of Avanti-varman 693-729) from the list of the *Mahākavis* Śūdraka, Kālidāsa, Harsha and Dandin to whom Kulasekhara pays the due homage of reference in his *Tapatisamvaranām* has also been taken to point to the conclusion that Kulasekhara must have lived at a time when Bhavabhūti's fame had not penetrated into the southern corner of India, i.e., in all probability about the first half of the 9th century A. D. or earlier. From these facts, the argument for assigning this king to a much later

1 तस्य राज्ञः केरळप्रहममणैर्महोदयपुरपरमेश्वरस्य श्रीकुलशेखरवर्मणः कृतिरियममुना प्रयोगविषयमवसरति ।

—*Tapatisamvaranām*.

2 तपतीशेखरपदनाथपुत्रस्य राज्ञः कलमराक्षिकेकलकैदारिककेरळचिनाथस्य श्रीकुलशेखरवर्मणो निजनिष्पन्नमय वयाति सुप्रहृदयम् ।

—*Subhadrādhanañ-jayam*.

3 यस्य परमहंसपादपिकेहरीसुपटलविविधोक्तमुकुटतटस्य वसुधाविबुधधनानाम्भारमिहिरायमाणकरकमलस्य सुसकमलदयलम् भाष्यमन्जरीकथानमुद्रः ।

—*Tapatisamvaranām*.

4 Introduction to the *Tapatisamvaranām* in the *Triv. Sanskrit Series*. Archaeological Report for 1926 A. D. *Bhāṣaṇapāṭha* for 1917.

5 दुरादपि सतां पिते विदित्वावर्षमञ्जरीम् ।

कुलशेखरवर्मायां वचारावर्षमञ्जरीम् ॥

—*Rājasekhara in Sektimuktāṇi*.

6 शारङ्गकालिदासहर्षदण्डिप्रमुखाणां महाकवीनामस्य यस्य कवेरिदं निबन्धनम् । —*Tapatisamvaranām*.

date on the strength of a doubtful(?) reference to Dhanañjaya's *Daśarūpa*¹ considered to have been made by Sumati(?), a Nambudiri brahman of Paramēśvara-maṅgalam, who was a contemporary of Kulāśekhara and who wrote the two commentaries called *Vyāgyavākyā* on the two dramas under the supervision of and with suggestions received from the royal author himself, has also been contested; and it has been suggested² that a later scribe of the particular manuscript may have been responsible for the insertion in the commentary of this supplementary note quoting from *Daśarūpa*.

All the arguments noted above do not appear to be unreasonable, but in addition to them the following points may have also to be given some consideration, before the two dramas can be definitely attributed to the saint-king of the 9th century. The author of the *Vyāgyavākyā* has given king Kulāśekhara's personal opinion on the merits of his own dramas in the following verse:—

अनियुक्ताप्यसरणिः शलेति प्रोच्यते दुर्घः ।

एतस्माद् अनियुक्ता सा रचिता नाटकद्वयी ॥

which is almost an echo of the dictum laid down by Ānandavardhana (A. D. 880) in the opening line of his *Dhanyāśloka* viz., काव्यस्याप्य अनिरिति दुर्घर्षः समाम्नातपूर्वः ॥ ; and the dramas may therefore be presumed to be posterior and to be permeated with that requisite which gives the necessary life to a good composition.

In the fifth act of the *Tapatīsamvaranagaram* occurs a verse³ where the love-lorn king is made to say that the sun sheds cool star-rays on him and then to request a passing cloud (apostrophised as *Akāṣapalada*) not to trouble the friendly sun (*Ravi-maṇḍalam*) even for a moment. From the way in which these two verses are put into the context it looks as if the author wanted to convey in this description a hidden reference to some current political event; but in cases of this type where much has to depend upon the hypothetical interpretation of particular verses one cannot afford to be dogmatic. If, however, *Akāṣapalada* can be taken to be a synonym for *Akāṣavarsha*, we know that it was a title borne by three Rashtrakuta kings of the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries A. D. viz., Krishna I (A. D. 750), Krishna II (A. D. 888-911), the contemporary of the Chēra king Sthānu-Ravi and the Chōla Aditya, and Krishna III (937-67), the contemporary probably of the Chera king Indu-Kōḍai and his immediate predecessor and of the Chōla kings, Parāntakas I and II. In the two latter cases, the troubling of the *Ravi-maṇḍalam* may be taken to refer either to an anticipated invasion of the kingdom (*maṇḍalam*) of Sthānu-Ravi or of Chōla Aditya or to the temporary occupation of the territory of the Chōlas (*Solar* dynasty) by Krishna III, who took Kanchi killing the Chōla prince Rājāditya at the battle of Takkōlam in A. D. 947.⁴ If the first significance was intended, Kulāśekhara should be considered to have composed the drama before

1 Introduction to *Tapatīsamvaranagaram*, p. 4.

2 *Bhāṣya-pāṭhaṇi*, line 1917.

3 हा कष्टमकालजलदः पापीयानोद्भुमातिर्न तिरोचते । ओ भोः तौदमनीवहम् ।

आस्यारम्भप्रविततशिलावर्षवन्त कञ्जान् केकाप्रप्रक्षितकुहरां कञ्चरां शाययन्तम् ।

त्वे प्रेक्षस्व प्रणयविवशः प्रेमवन्तं मयूरं मा भूयेत् । क्वमपि रवेर्मेघलस्योपरोधी ॥ - V. 11.

4 *Hist. Sketches of Ancient Dehkan*, p. 229.

perhaps he had himself abdicated the throne according to the custom of Kēraḷa and Śthānu-Ravi had already been anointed as king. As the latter king is known from his famous copper-plate grants and the Tillaisthānam record to have been living in about A. D. 880, Kulasekhara, his predecessor, may have to be located in the first half of the 9th century between about A. D. 830 and 850 and can then be identified with the Ālvār, who has been stated above to belong to this period; but unfortunately there is no epigraphical authority for stating that a Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion of Kēraḷa or of the Chōḷa dominions was threatened in the reign of Krishna II—Akāḷavarsha. If, however, the second interpretation be accepted, the royal author of the two dramas may be considered to have been a predecessor of Indu-Kōḍaivarman who has been tentatively assumed to have begun his reign in A. D. 955, and a successor of Vijayarāgaḍēva who was only a prince in about A. D. 880. This was a period when cordial feelings prevailed among the three powers of the South who had made common cause for the total extinction of the main Pallava line which ended with the defeat of Aparājita at the hands of the Chōḷa Āditya I at the end of the 9th century. Śthānu-Ravi was the friend and ally of Āditya I, and princess NIII, the daughter of Vijayarāgaḍēva who must have succeeded Śthānu on the Chēra throne, figures as a donor to the Tiruvorriyūr temple (Chingleput District) in a record of Parāntaka I dated in A. D. 935. Parāntaka was himself connected with the Chēra dynasty by marriage as his queen one of whom was Kōkkilānadigal, the mother of prince Rajāditya, were Chēra princesses; but it is not known if one of these or another lady was the daughter of the Kēraḷa chief Paluvēttaraiyar, whom the Chōḷa king is also said to have married. Parāntaka (Vira-Chōḷa) and his queen are known to have been donors to the Tiruvalla temple in the Travancore State.

This location of Kulasekhara between the years 935 and 955 does not, however, necessarily preclude the possibility of the northern poet Rajasekhara being able to refer to the former author's *Ācharyamahārī*, which was assuredly the first of his productions; only the interval is rather short, which may also account for the possibly contemporary (?) tone of the testimony of Rajasekhara in his appreciative stanza. It also renders it probable that the royal author was tempted to compose his dramas as *dhvanyuktā* on a perusal of the *Dhvanyāloka*, the strong advocate of the employment of *dhvani* in compositions, which was at that time quite a recent critical work on Rhetoric. The only point that clashes with these surmises is the omission of the name of Bhavabhūti in the list of poets mentioned by Kulasekhara; but it has to be supposed that the list was not exhaustive, and that the royal author mentioned in a haphazard fashion only a few of his predecessors in the realm of poetics. That there was at least one Chēra king by the name of Kulasekhara anterior to Indu-Kōḍaivarman is proved by the fact that the father-in-law of Vijayarāgaḍēva was a certain Kulasekharadēva and it is

1 *Trans-Argal., Series*, Vol. II, p. 76-7.

2 " " Vol. III, p. 162.

3 *S. L. L.*, Vol. III, p. 236.

4 *T. A. S.*, Vol. III, p. 162.

5 *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 141.

6 *T. A. S.* Vol. IV, p. 144.

possible that the successor of Vijayarāga was also another Kulasekhara, named after this maternal grandfather. All these are, no doubt, probable guesses to show that the author of the two dramas need not necessarily be equated with the saint-king of the same name, unless there are more convincing arguments in favour of that identification.

The following tentative list of the Chera kings may for the present be drawn up, subject however to such corrections as future finds may render necessary:—

Name.	Approximate dates.
Rajasekharadeva (whose copper-plate record is attributable to the beginning of the 9th century, and who was a contemporary of the great Saṅkara)	800-825
Kulasekharavarman <i>alias</i> Kulasekhara-Alvar, (the author of <i>Mukundamāla</i> and <i>Tirumoli</i>)	825-850
Rāma (of <i>Tripuradehana Saurikathodaya</i> and <i>Nalodaya</i>)	850-870
Sthānu-Ravi (of Kottayam-plates and Tillaisthānam record)	870-900
Vijayarāga-deva (the heir-apparent in the Kottayam plates)	900-935
Kulasekharavarman (the author of the two dramas)	935-955
Indu-kōḍaivarman (latest regnal year 16)	955-971
Rhaskara-Ravivarman (latest regnal year 58)	978-1036
Ravi-Rāma Kulasekhara-Chakravarti	1089-1102

E. J.—Pillar Inscriptions in the same temple.

Inscriptions E to J which are engraved on the pillars of the *surrumanḍapa*, or covered circumambulatory passage round the central shrine of the temple register simply the names of their respective donors; and they are all of them dated on the same day when the temple was renovated, namely Kollam year 782, Chitrai 6.

E

On a pillar in the surru-manḍapa.

1 என் அய்யன் இஸ்	6 வர் கொய்யில்
2 செத்தினர் மீ மக	7 தானத்தரில் கொ-
3 உ உ.சுத்தான	8 செசெரி தெயன்
4 செய்கித்த கொ-	9 திருவிக்கிரமன்
5 தனபுரத்து மாதே-	10 சதா செனைய-

1 T. A. S., Vol. III, p. 173, 181.

2 [E, F, H, G, J. —These are registered as Nos. 58 to 62 respectively of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1893 u. c.]

F

On another pillar.

- | | | | |
|---|----------------------|----|--------------|
| 1 | என அயிலு (ஹ) சித்தி- | 6 | பாக்காமங்கல- |
| 2 | தையர் கஉ- | 7 | ம் தெசத்து |
| 3 | சித்திரகண்ட- | 8 | இசுவரன் |
| 4 | ம் உருத்தூன் | 9 | சொந்தை ச |
| 5 | செய்யித்தான் | 10 | தாசெனய- |

G

On a third pillar.

- | | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|----|---------------------|
| 1 | என அயிலு (ஹ) சி- | 6 | யனகக்கு பறகன்- |
| 2 | த்திரையர் கஉ உ- | 7 | சலில் யனத்துரு- |
| 3 | ருத்தூன் செய்- | 8 | வாக்கும் பெருமான் |
| 4 | யித்த தானகை- | 9 | திருவாழ் மாத்[ப*]ன் |
| 5 | க்கு அப்பப்பன் ² அப்பப்பன் | 10 | தாசெனய- |

H

On a fourth pillar.

- | | | | |
|---|----------------------|---|-----------------------|
| 1 | என அயிலு (ஹ) சித்தி- | 4 | த்தூன் செய்யித்த |
| 2 | தையர் கஉ சித்தி- | 5 | யிலு தெசத்து |
| 3 | தகண்டம் உரு | 6 | கணக்கு அப்பப்பன் இரவி |
| | | 7 | தாசெனய |

I

On a fifth pillar.

- | | | | |
|---|---------------------------|---|-----------------------------|
| 1 | என அயிலு (ஹ) சித்- | 5 | பாக்ககொடு |
| 2 | திரை மாதம் கஉ | 6 | தெசத்து கணக்கு ¹ |
| 3 | செயித்த ¹ கன்- | 7 | பாப்பன் பாப்பன் |
| 4 | டம் உருத்தூன் | 8 | தாசெனய |

J

On a sixth pillar.

- | | | | |
|----|-----------------------|----|---------------------------------|
| 1 | என | 11 | ய திருப்பணி கணக்கு ¹ |
| 2 | அயிலு | 12 | வருத்தப்பணி |
| 3 | (ஹ) சி- | 13 | செய்யிக்கையு- |
| 4 | த்திரை | 14 | ம் செய்கையில் உரு- |
| 5 | யர் ம் க- | 15 | த்தூன் செய்வி- |
| 6 | உ ராசா- | 16 | த்த திருப்பன் நிப்பா- |
| 7 | சப்ப- | 17 | க்கத்து பெருமான் |
| 8 | ளவரி | 18 | வினையகன் |
| 9 | காராயணன் ² | 19 | தாசெனய |
| 10 | சங்கரன் ஆனா- | | |

1 The word தெய் has been omitted.

2 These words are all expressed by symbols.

No. 31— Krishnankoyil record of Kollam 887.¹

This Tamil inscription which is engraved on the walls of the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine of the Krishnasvamin temple at Krishnankōyil, a suburb of Kōraṭapuram, is dated in the Kollam year 887 and the astronomical details furnished in it give the English equivalent A. D. 1711, August 6.

It records that certain lands were given by a private individual called Śilayappillai-Ariyakutti to the temples of Kṛṣṇa-viṇṇavar-Eṇberuman and Kulaśekhara-Vināyakapillaiyār at Ravipuram which were constructed about Kollam 830, when Nayanār (king) Ravi-Raviarman *alias* Siṅgaivarmutta-Tambirāṇār was the reigning king and that the donor secured from the king certain tax exemptions for these lands. This document was engraved on stone from the original copper-plate record by a descendant of the donor named Settu Valāyuda-perumal residing in the street (*perunderuvu*) called the 'Raviarman *alias* Kulaśekharaṇṇapperumal-perunderuvu' of Tiruvilāṅgōḍu (a town) in Malai-maṇḍalam, in the Kollam year 887.

It is noteworthy that the suburb which grew around the nucleus of the temple was known as Ravipuram and that the Vināyaka was also named Kulaśekhara-Vināyakapillaiyār in honour of the king, to whose charitable disposition the two temples owed certain privileges.

Text.

- 1 சகரத்தம் உருகாக்கென பெயர் செல்-
- 2 ஸரின், கொல்லம். சகரத்தம் இது ஆயணி
- 3 வீ' இடம் சென்ற திவகனாட்டையும் உத்திராபு-
- 4 ம புதுவயக்கிழுத்து திறதிகையும் ஆனிகாணமம்
- 5 சரத்தத்தியபெருமான் பெற்ற இன்னுளால் மலை-
- 6 மண்டலத்த திருவிதாங்கொட்டு இரவியன்ம-
- 7 ராஜ குலசெகரப்பெருமான் பெருந்தெருவி-
- 8 க் கொட்டு வெலையுதப்பெருமான் தம்பிராந்தொழிநெ-
- 9 ன் னன் கரணன் இலையாடுவன் அரி-
- 10 யகுட்டி முன் செடியில் கொவினும் செட்டிவி-
- 11 த்த கவினார் இரவியுத்த பதி கிட்டின விண்-
- 12 ன் வ கொன்பெருமாளையும் இட கொவிலில் வ-
- 13 டக்கேயிடத்திய குலசெகரவினாயகப்பின்னை-
- 14 யாரையும் கற்பகத்துப்பொத்தியைக் கொண்டு
- 15 திறதிட்டையும் செய்தித்து கிளையுமாடிவித்து
- 16 தெ' கவினாருக்கும் இன்னாராருக்கும் பூசை கயக்-
- 17 காரம் அத்தானம் முத்தானம் வைக்க கொ-
- 18 வெத்தியும் வகக்கு காரொன் றக்கு ஆ. வ. உ. வி
- 19 ஆக புக சகு ஆ. உ. ப. கு. கு. உ. வித
- 20 ம சஞாக ப. ம. உ. வி. ம. தெ. கவினாருகா மாநவி
- 21 செஷம் ஆட்டைவிசெஷம் வகக்குப் படி-
- 22 த்தாத்தின்படி உள்ள செஷம் சரத்தியு-

¹ This is registered as No. 64 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1893 n. r.

- 23 மக்கு ஸம் க க்கு ஸ- ஊர்ப கு தெ கொயில்-
 24 ச் சன்னதில் சொமக்காசர் உடமையும்
 [இதையும் இதக்கடுத்த தெக்குமதிலிதும் பர்க்கையும்]

Second panel.

- 25 சங்குத்து நீராட்டுப்பள்ளி மத்தளம் கையணி வகக்குப் படித்தாத்தின்ப-
 26 டு உன்ன சொது திக்கு ஸம் க க்கு உட-
 27 மை ஸ- கணப பக உரிம் நாககரம் மூத்த வகக்கு ஸம் க க்கு உடமை
 28 ஸ- கணப ம் கோதை மகன் வள்ளி உன்-
 29 லிட்டாரும் குமாரச மகன் ஆலிடை உன்னிட்டாரும் தாணுமக மகன் நா-
 30 கர உன்னிட்டாரும் ஆக முறை
 31 க்ருடி மூத்தக்குப் படித்தாத்தின்ப படி உன்ன சொது நீக்கி ஸம் க க்கு
 32 ஸ- லிய ம் தெ கொயிலுக்கு தெ-
 33 க்குக் கல்மடமூர் கெட்டியித்து உணரவொருபாகப்பிள்ளையாரையும் எழு-
 34 த்தருழிக்க உ-
 35 மையொருபாக முதலியாராகக் கொண்டு கலாமுமகித்து தெ டிள்ளை-
 36 யாருக்கு காசொ-
 37 ன் அக்கு ஸயத்த தெய்வத்தியம் ஆ உரி ஆக ஸம் க்கு ஆ லிடை க்கு
 38 ஸ- கப ம் கத்தவனம் திருமாலை
 39 கெட்டு வகக்கு தெ மடத்திலிருக்கிற பண்டாரத்தக்கு ஸம் க க்கு உட-
 40 மை ஸ- கணப ம் தெ மடத்தில் தி-
 41 த்தியல் திருப்பெருக்கு அமுதுகொடுக்கிற வகக்கு தன்மபத்தர் உடமை-
 42 யும் கணக்கு உடமையும் பஸ-
 43 வெலை உடமையும் மத்தும் பஸசெயவுக்கும் முன் எழுதினவத்த பட்டை-
 44 யத்தின்படி உன்ன ஸ-
 45 வக செயவுக்கும் அவிமெக கட்டினை திருவினக் கெண்ணை மாநலிசேஷம்
 46 ஆட்டிசேஷம்
 47 மத்தும் பஸவக செயவுக்கும் உட விச்சவபூதவ தன்மதானப் திறமாண-
 48 மாக முன் எழுதினவ-
 49 த்த பட்டையத்தின்படி உன்ன கிலமும் புளையெடமுமாலிது [1°] முன்
 50 அரகலிலு ஸயகாதி யீ வகஉ கதி-
 51 னர் இரவி இரவியற்றமாரப நெவாய்முத்த தம்பிரான் திருவுள்ளம் பற்றிக்
 52 கல்பித்த நுனி தெ கிட்டணுக்குப் பிள்ளையா-
 53 ருக்கும் பூசை உண்ப்பட்ட வகக்கு தெ லிளையாபிள்ளை அரிபருட்டிக்குக்
 54 கொடுத்த திருமுத்தின்படி அஞ்சாதி மெ-
 55 ஸ்வாரம் ஒழித்த கிலமாகிது [1°] காஞ்சினுட்டு வடசெரிசில் இராசராச-
 56 பெரெரிக்குளத்தல் தன் நீராகரம் திதம்ப-
 57 ரனுதன் புள்ளியில் பெரியமடைப்பொக்கு தெக்கு மெடு முதல் கண்ணாறு
 58 கெவ்மாரி தெ ம-
 59 டைப்பொக்கில் கைதறைக்கால் முதல் கண்ணாறு கைதறை ஆக தெபுன்-
 60 லிசில் தடி
 61 பண்டாரம் பண்பறை ஆக . . . புள்ளியில் ஷெ மடை வடக்கு மெடு
 62 இரண்டாம் கண்ணாறு சாலியர் வய-

- 44 ஸ்ரீகிருஷ்ணபகவதே நம: இவ்வாறு கவி புன்னிலில் வடக்கு மடை பத்துமாக-
கால் தடிக்க ம கடுக்கையின் அரிபகுட்டி.
- 45 இரவி புன்னிலில் புதுக்குளத்தில் கிள்மெஸ் மடைப்பொக்கு தடிக்க
சிலம் வ . . . உனக்கால் தடி.
- 46 கடி || கடிக்க க || ம உ ம் குறி தடிக்க . .
ம் || ம் ம் சொன்ன-
- 47 மாமபன்னி புன்னிலில் குறி தடிக்க . எத || || ம் உ
ம் உ சிலம் ம் உ க ||
- 48 கபம் கிழப்புதுச்சை தடிக்க உடல் இம் உ க உள் இம் ஆக புன்னி
உக்கு ம் இ-
- 49 நுப்பைக் காடெரிக்குளத்தின்சில தடி பவசிலம் . ம பிளர்க்கொட்டைவி-
ளையும் நுபுத திரு-
- 50 ந்து தடி பவ உ கிசக கொண் ஆற்றக்கொணம் தடி பவ . . சகம் ! (வ-
டக்கப்பிறத்தில் வடக்குமலினில் பார்க்கவும்)

Third panel.

- 51 ஆத வடசெங்கிதக்கரை உள்ப்பட்ட தடி பல் க்கு அஞ்சா-
லியும்
- 52 மெல்லவாரமும் முழிக வ ஷெ சிட்டுணகின்னவமென்பொருபான் கொலி-
லின்
- 53 சேகரிபம் போண்டாது ளானம் தனாகது உள்ப்பட ஆசெத்திரதாரமெ
சத்திரா-
- 54 தித்தவவாக்கும உசடசேதிரவாசெனை அலியகுட்டி இழுமுகம் வெண்டி-
க்கான் ஷெ சிள்-
- 55 க்கனிலுள்ள பாட்டமும் மலையுட்டி கொளதகம் துரப்பற்றில் பிராவதை-
க்குளத்தின் சி-
- 56 மும் தும்பட்டதைக்குளத்தின் இழும் பாக்கமங்கலத்து குளத்தின் இழும்
கழனி தடி கடுபம்
- 57 தும்பட்டதைக்குளத்தின் இழும் பாக்கமங்கலத்துக் குளத்தின் இழும் கா-
தாக்காய் வட்டம்
- 58 தடி க சிலம் சபம் பாக்கமங்கலத்து குளத்தின்சின் கழத்தடிசிலம் கபம்
பிராழுட்டுப் பறம்பு தடி
- 59 சிலம் ஷெ உக்கு மெஞ்சும் புதுக்குழியும் பிராவதைக்குளத்தின் இழ் பிரா-
வதை தடி சிலம் இபம் மாத்-
- 60 வற தடி சிலம் உபம் ஆக்கலைக்குளத்தின் சீன் வெள்ளங்கொள்ளி தடி க
சபம் உக்காடு தடி க உபம்
- 61 மாம்பலதைக்குளத்தின் இழ் மாம்பலதை தடி க உபம் சபஞ்சுழி தடி க ப
இடம் மொதிர்த்துட-
- 62 வயல் தடி க உபம் கொழியுஞ்சித்துடவயல் தடி க உபம் இளைபாயினுக்-
குளத்தின் சீன் தலத்தடி
- 63 தடி க உபம் கொழியுண்ணி தடி க உபம் மொண்ணாத்துடவயல் தடி க உ
பம் பறம்புக்கழிச் -

- 64 னத்தாலும் கொற்றால்குளத்தாலும் மாவடி தடிகு சபம் கொற்றால்கு-
ளத்தாலும் புதிர்சாக்குளம்-
65 த்தாலும் பணியடி தடிகு உபம் கொடுஞ்ஞத்தின் சீழ் பழஞ்சொற்றத்த-
ண்டம் தடிகு உபம் பெ-
66 குஞ்ஞத்தின் சீழ் மாஞ்சாணி தடிகு உபம் கொழிப்பதம்பு தடிகு ச-
பம் பரவ தடிகு
67 இபம் அத்தியடி தடிகு உபம் புதுஞ்ஞத்தாலும் ஆறத்தஞ்ஞத்தாலும்
கண்ணாக்குறிச்சி-
68 தடிகு உபம் பெருஞ்ஞத்தின் இடைச்சிறைக் குளத்தாலும் கண்ணியா-
லும் வாயுக்காய்த்து-
69 வயல் தடிகு இபம் குழவிமுல்குளமும் ஸ்டி கொணம் கொட்பாக்கொ-
ட்டு வண்ணம்-
70 குளத்தின் சீழ் மணலாழிகொட்டமும் வாலமும் தடிகு உபம் ஸ்டி ஆழ-
ங்கொட்டக்குளத்தின்
71 சீழ் கொக்கொட்டையடி தடிகு உபம் ஸ்டி இழவஞ்ஞமும் அத்தவறிக்-
குழமும் ஸ்டி கொணம் தடி பல சிலம்
72 ஆக மலையாட்டு வகவத்து கொட்டம் பெருக்கி உள்ள பாட்டையுள் பாத்கொ-
ட்டு பெருஞ்ஞத்தின் சீழ் மாவடி தடிகு
73 உபக்கு உள்ள கடமையும் கொட்டாந்து பெருமான் அண்ணாவி அஞ்சா-
லி மெல்லாசை போழ்த்த தானம்
74 வென்றன புளியறை தடி உக சாக்கு உள்ள பாட்டையுள் குளக்கையில்
பெற்றான் விளாகம் புறம்.

Fourth panel.

- 75 டத்துக்கும் கொய்துர் அஞ்சாலினாகம் புடு-
76 வடத்துக்கும் கடமை சீக்கி உள்ள பாட்டமும் உ-
77 வாயி கொயிலில் கண்ணத்தொமத்து மனை-
78 யும் வாய்ச்சிகம் பாண்டாப்பெட்டி இவ்வான் தெவ-
79 ன் உக கண்ணக்கொட்டாக்கு சீழ்மெல் இராச-
80 பெருவழிக்கும் தென்வடல் பெருவழிக்கும்
81 தொமத்து வாய்ச்சிக்கும் ஈடுவில் மனை-
82 னும் விளாகத்தும் தென்வடல் பெருவ-
83 ழிக்கும் சீழ்மெல் இராசபெருவழிக் கம காணிப்-
84 பொட்டு அப்பலத்துக்கு தனது வக கலை-
85 க்கும் ஆக கல்லல் விளாகமும் கல்லத்துக்கும் ஈடுவில்
86 மனைகளும் விளாகத்தும் பிச்சப்பிச்சி-
87 பாச் கொயில் விளாகமும் கெய்யடி-
88 ளாகமும் திருவிதாங்கொட்டுத் தென்
89 வடக்கடைவில் மெக்குச்சிறையில் கடை அம் ஸ்டி-
90 கிண்கிண்குச்சிறை கடை கம் ஆக தெவன்
91 விளாக்கு மெற்கு குறையன் விளாகத்துக்கும் சீழ்மெல்
92 இராசபெருவழிக்கும் தென்வடல் இராசபெ-
93 ருவழிக்கும் காவகப்பட்டர் விளாகத்தும் தானம்-
94 னாகத்துக்கும் ஈடுவில் விளாகமும் கொயி-

- 95 ஸ்மதிலுக்கும் அந்து வறிகொண்டதற்கும் கிழ்மெ-
 96 மல் இராசபெருவழிக்கும் காவக்கப்பட்டர் வி-
 97 லாகவருக்கும் தரணவிலகருக்கும் பண்டாசப்பின்னை
 98 விக்மிசமன் சங்கரன் விலகருக்கும் (மகா-
 99 நெய்ணவிலக்குக்கு தெக்குமநிலில் பாக்கவும்)

Fifth panel.

- 100 னாண்ட பெருவழிக்கும் எடுதல் விலையறும் தென்வ-
 101 டல் ப்பெருவழிக்கும் வண்ணன் குளத்துக்கும் அந்துறிகொ-
 102 னாத்துக்கும் பண்டாசப்பின்னை விக்மிசமன் சங்கரன் விலையறும் க-
 103 டெயில் விலையறும் தெரப்பும் சந்தாவனமும் அகின் கி-
 104 முக்குத்துண்டுகிசைக்கும் ஆக இயவகைக்குள்ள பாட்ட-
 105 வும் வெண்டி பூசை உள்ப்பட்ட சிலவும் கட்டத்திக்கு-
 106 கள்ள விலையாடுகின்ற அரிவாருட்டி விட்டுக்கொ-
 107 காடுத்த வக இதுவும் செட்டு சிசையாள் அணைஞ்சபெருமான்
 108 முத்தாணம் பூவசக்கும் கமக்காசத்ததும் கான் கக்கு அரி
 109 கருவு ஆக ௬ம் கக்கு ௭ம் கன ஆக ௮ம் கக்கு ௯ம் கனக்கு வி-
 110 டுக்க கொடுத்த வக கடுக்கலையில் மறி தடி உ
 111 க்கு அகப்பந்து உக்கு உள்ள மெய்வரையும் தெயில் கடு-
 112 க்கலாப் பள்ளம் தடிக்கலாந்த ௩ . . . க்கு அகப்பந்து
 113 மெய்வாரும் அளவிக இது கொண்ட அந்தரபுரத்து
 114 கெட்டையினுள் குளமும் தெ கொணம் மடக
 115 அஞ்சாவி மெய்வாரம் பொக்கியுள்ள பாட்டி
 116 வும் அலையு இவணி மீம் இது செட்டு மெய்வரப்ப-
 117 பெருமான் தம்பிராத்தொழன் விட்டுக்கொ-
 118 ற்த்த வக வடசெயிலில் கலையு கடுக்கலையில் கன-
 119 றயும் காணியாட்டலையும் தெயில் குளவும் பிலையுக்கொ-
 120 காணத்துக்குளவும் ஆக இயவகைக்குள்ள உள்ள கெ-
 121 ல் பணவகையை வெண்டி பூசையுள்பட-
 122 ட்ட சிலவுகள் ஏறப்பெரும் கட்டத்திக்கு கொள்ளவும்
 123 ஆக இந்தவகை ஏறப்பெரும் தெ கொயில் தம்மபத்தரவும்
 124 தெ கொயில் சன்னதி இராமத்து மாணவனரும் உடி
 125 க்காரித்துக் கொள்ளுவாராகவும் இந்த தம்மத்துக்கு அ-
 126 கிதம் செய்த பெர் கெய்கை கலையிலெ காரம் பக-
 127 கைக் கொடுக்க பாபத்தில் பரவாராகவும் இந்த தம்மம் பரி-

No. 32—Yadaseri Copper-plate of Kollam 945.

The subjoined Tamil record is engraved in the Tamil alphabet on both sides of a single copper-plate, which has been kept as exhibit No. 10 in the Napier Museum, Trivandrum. The plate measures 10½" by 6½" exclusive of a semi-circular projection at the middle on the top of the plate, which contains the Vaisnavya triple emblem, a Terikali caste-mark flanked on either side by the *Sankha*

1 The further lines which will have mentioned the merit of those who protected the charity are not traceable on the walls of the manuscript.

and the *chakra*. The writing is in a good state of preservation and has been engraved between series of thinly marked parallel lines. The place wherefrom the plate was secured is not ascertainable, but from the fact that the inscription records the gifts of certain lands made by two brahman ladies to the Krishna shrine of the temple of Rāpanārāyaṇa-viṇṇagar-Emberumāṇ at Ādityavarma-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in the northern portion of Nāṇjīnāḍu, the plate¹ must have belonged to the village of that name. From another inscription² it is learnt that Vadaśēri, a hamlet of Nāgercoil, was called Ādityavarma-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, and the village owed that name perhaps to one of the Vēṇḍu rulers of the name of Ādityavarman³ who reigned in 1375 and during whose time the village and its temple may have come into prominence. An inscription⁴ of Ādityavarman *alias* Sarvaṅganātha which praises the literary attainments of the king and winds up with a verse in glorification of god Krishna of Vadaśēri is actually found engraved in that temple. The name of the god suggests that it may have got its designation after a king who had the title of Rāpanārāyaṇa. The record is dated both in the Śaka year 1691 and Kollam 945 corresponding to the cyclic year Virōdhin and on a Monday, the 27th day of Purattasi with sukṛapākṣa-daśami and nakṣatra Śravana. The details correspond to A. D. 1769, October 9. No king is however mentioned in the inscription.

The record is of some interest on account of the fact that a brahman called Rānuliṅgam, son of Vaittiliṅga-bhaṭṭar of the Kaundinya-gōtra, Āpastambha-sūtra and the Yajus-śākha and a resident in the south Maḍa street of the village, who had in the previous year made some gifts of land for conducting certain feeding charities in the temple of Krishna, having perhaps deceased suddenly, his two wives (widows), Jānakī-sāi and Paryatavarddhanī-sāi undertook to get a regular document drawn up in respect of these gifts, mentioning therein the details of the several items of expenditure connected with the daily feeding of eight brahmins throughout the year of 365 days (*adhikānāl-ulpāḍa*) and the special feeding of nine additional men during every Tiruvōṇam (*nak. Śravana*) thirteen times in the year. All the documents, relating to previous monetary and other transactions, connected with the plots of land now gifted away as charity, in all numbering four and dating from Kollam 915, were deposited in the temple-treasury and a fresh deed was drafted on a cadjan leaf from which again, it is said, this authenticated copy was afterwards incised on copper by an engraver.

As usual in later Tanjil documents, the language used is somewhat ungrammatical, with no very special peculiarities, however, except that *īriyaḷ* is used for *śrīkaḷ* after the omission of the initial sibilant, Krishna is tamilised into *Kiṭṭiṇa*, *sahiraṇṇa* has undergone a vulgar transformation into *chakiraṇiya* and *namaskāram* has slid into the form of *namakkāram*. Grantha letters have been very sparingly used in the record, the only instances being the initial *svasti śrī* and the final *Śrī-Krishṇasvāmī-tuṇai*. Many misleading numerical as well as verbal

1 This may be copper-plate No. 4 of 1084.

2 No. 66 of 1084, published on page 125.

3 *Tam. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 265.

4 T. A. S., Vol. I, p. 172.

abbreviations have been employed in the inscription and their proper values are sometimes found difficult to determine with certainty, although most of them may be guessed at with reference to the contexts.

Some of the proper names occurring in this inscription are of the villages *Isānti-maṅgalam*, *Varaṅga-maṅgalam*, *Rhūtappāṇḍi*, the rivulets *Araṣiyar* and *Tellāṇḍi*, and the individuals *Ulaṅḍāyā-nācchayār*, *Tambirāṅḍōlan-Sīvalakkuṭṭi* and *Kadambara-nāyār* of *Iravimān*. *Iṣūtappāṇḍi* is a village in the *Tovala taluk* in South Travancore, and *Isānti-maṅgalam* described as situated in the western portion of *Nanjināḍu* is a village near *Iṣūtappāṇḍi*.

The name *Tambirāṅḍōlan* (god's comrade) borne by an individual of the 17th century is reminiscent of the surname of saint *Sundarānūrti*, an account of whose friendship with the god (*tambirāṅ*) at *Tiraveṇṇainallār* in the South Arcot district is narrated in the *Periyapurāṇam*.

A translation of the document has not been furnished as a major portion of it details only the boundaries of the several pieces of land and is not otherwise important.

Text.

- 1 ஸ்ரீ [1^a] கார்த்தம் கருகாங்கிள் ஸ்ரீ மெல் கொல்ல[2^a] கார்த்த-
- 2 இஸ்ரீ கிரேது இஸ் புட்டாதிமாத்தம் உலகா பூதவபட்சத்து தெசமி-
- 3 பும்³ சொமவாராதி திரிதிசபயொகருடி வாண்கா-
- 4 ஸ்ரீ பெற்ற திருவொண நடத்தித்தத்து கான் செய்த சகிரணி-
- 5 பொத⁴ பூதவ தம்மதான திறமாணமாவது [11^a] காஞ்சிகாட்டு
- 6 வடசருகில் ஆதித்தவம்ம சதுர்வெதிகலத்து கவினார் உரு-
- 7 வகாராண கிண்ணம் பம்பெருமானார் கொகில் கித் தி-
- 8 ஸ்ரீ கவாமி சன்னதியில் காமத்தில் தெற்கு மாடதெருவில்
- 9 கவண்டியர் சொத்தித்தத்து ஆ(பதம்)பத்தம்பருத்தித்தத்தில் ககாரா-
- 10 த்தியான வைத்தில்கப்பட்ட புத்திரன் காமலிகன் திறியன் ச-
- 11 ஸ்ரீயும் பதவதவத்தினிசானியொம் கிடுகணகவாமி சன்னதி-
- 12 யில் நித்திய வகாராத்தத்தும் திருவொண திராமண பொத்.
- 13 ஸத்துக்கு உதகதான திறமாணம் ஸ்ரீதிக்குத்த பரிசாவ-
- 14 ஸ்ரீ [11^a] முன் சிசெனா மாசிரைத் திசு வகான் பத்தார் காமலிகன்
- 15 ம்செய்த கிலமாவது [1^a] காஞ்சிகாட்டு மெல்கொடை கார்த்தி-
- 16 மல்கலம் மாக்குளம் கீழ்பாச சக்கண்ணாது² அரசியார் கால்ப-
- 17 பொத்கில் தென்னாத்தி மடைப்புதில் தென்னாத்தி வய-
- 18 ல் தடி கை கரு வலகலாவது கீழ் வல்-
- 19 கை மாடன் காதர் உ³த்துக்கு-மெத்துக்குத் தென்னெல்கை கிழ்-
- 20 மெல்க்காதுக்கு வடக்கு மெலெல்கை அரசியார் காதுக்-

1 Registered as No. 1 of the Trav. Copper-plate Colln. for 1928 n. c.

2 Expressed by a symbol.

3 Contains land symbols.

4 Symbol for கை.

- 21 குத் திழக்கு வடவெய்கை கணக்கு சங்கராநாயனன் சாமன்
 22 உத்துக்கு தெற்குமாக இளை எய்கைக்கு உள்பட்ட தென்-
 23 னாந்தி எயல் தடி ௧௨ 'உலிசயீ'ம் தெ. கண்ணாத்தி-
 24 ல் மாங்குளம் கடுமண்ட கலையடி நாற்றடி தடி ௧௨- வத | ச
 25 ல் ௫௨௨ சயீ'க்கு எய்கையாவது சீழ் எய்கை அரையார் கடை
 26 லுக்கு மெற்றித் தென்னெய்கை உருடய நாச்சிய-
 27 ரர் கொணை உத்துக்கு வடக்கு மெல் எய்கை மாங்குளம் கரை-
 28 க்கும் காறுக்கும் சிழக்கு வடவெய்கை உருடய நாச்சிய-
 29 ரர் கொணை உத்துக்கு தெற்குமாக இளை எய்கைக்கு உள்பட்ட
 30 தடி ௧௨-வத | சல் குலை சயீ'ம் வானுணமங்கலம் சிழ்பால அ-
 31 ரையார் காற்பொக்கில் காற்புறமாபத்தில் மண்ணை மாகா-
 32 னி மடைப்புரையில் இரவிமன் கடம்பநாயர் வயல் தடி
 33 ௧௨-வத | ௧ 'உலிசயீ'க்கு எய்கையாவது சீழ் எ-
 34 ய்கை பிராணுபகாரி சட்டை தெம்பான் உத்துக்கு
 35 மெற்கு தென்னெய்கை தம்பிராந்தொழன் சிவலக்குட்டி
 36 உத்துக்கு உம் சிழ்மெல் காறுக்கும் வடக்கு மெல் எய்கை ஸி-
 37 னுர் பூதனாதகவாயி உத்துக்கு சிழக்கு வடவெய்கை பூத-
 38 னாதன் சாமநாதன் உத்துக்கும் தெற்குமாக இளை எய்கைக்கு
 39 உள்பட்ட இரவிமன் கடம்பநாயர் வயல் தடி ௧௨

Second side.

- 40 களக | கப 'உலிசயீ'ம் ஆக தடி ௧௨
 41 சலிசயீ'க்கு இளை பட்டம் எ-கொட்டை உலிசயீ'ம் தண்ணுறை வகைக்கு
 42 வீக்கினை எ-கொரு யும் வீக்கிவாய்ப்படக்கல் பட்டம் எ-கொட்டை உலிசயீ'ம்
 43 னுன் க-க்கு நமக்காரம் பெர் உக்கு அரிசி ௧௨-க்கு எ-க உரியும் யிரு
 44 வெஞ்ஞளம் வகைக்கு எ-க உரியும் பழவாயக்காரம் பெர் கம் மெற்படி
 45 பெர் அ-க்கு உப்பெரிக்கு வகவச்ச எ-க உயும் ஆக னுன் க-க்கு எ-க பட்ட ஆ-
 46 க னுன் னுன் காகவடுக்கு சிவய கொடுக்கொட்டை உலிசயீ'ம் உரியும்
 47 மாதம் கொடும் திருவொணம் நமக்காரம் பெர்.க-க்கு வைப்பு அரிசி ப
 48 னும் கொடுக்கெதிரும் செய்து சிவய குடுக்குற வகக்கு வைப்பு அரிசி ௫௨
 49 னும் ஆக அரிசி வது உரிக்கு இல் உ-க்கு எ-க இயீ' உனும் பருப்பும் காறு க-
 50 வச்சுட்டு வகக்கு வெஞ்சன சிவய வகக்கு எ-க வது ௫௨. ௫னக்கும் ஆக இவ-
 51 வொணம் நான் க-க்கு எ-க கொட்டை யுசஆக பெர் க-க்கு மும் மெ-க்கு
 திருவொணம் யு

- 52 க்ரு சிலவு கொட்டை சதவசம் ஆக நமக்காரம் திருவொணம் உட்பட்டவக
53 க்ரு இவகபடி பெர் க க்ரு சிலவு எ கொட்டை உட்க இ வக உரியும் மெ
54 கொண்டு வர சத்தக்க விக்ரு எ கொட்டை சவ ஆக எ கொட்டை உட்க
55 க்ரு இவ் தானம் செய்த சிலத்தை சிபண்டாதத்தில் இன்று
56 ம் பாட்டம் அடைச்ச பாட்ட எம் பற்றிக்கொண்டு இந்த தம்மத்
57 தை பரிபாலனமாக நடத்திவருவார்களாகவும் இந்த தம்ம-
58 தை பரிபாலனம் செய்தவர்கள் சாலொக சாயீப சாகு-
59 ப்ரிய சாகுச்சித்தை அடைவார்களாகவும் இந்த தம்மத்தை
60 க்கினெம் செய்தவர்கள் நெய்மத்துரொடியாகவும் சின்ன-
61 துரொடியாகவும் சிலத்துரொடியாகவும் பொவார்களாகவும் இப்-
62 படிச்சாமி தித்து இந்த சலொனியொதக தானப்பிறமாணம்
63 அழுதிக்குடு [1°] தொம் ராமலிங்கன் திரியன் சானகொனியும்
64 பறவதவத்தினிசாலியுடொம் சின்னவாயி சன்னதி-
65 ம் இப்படிக்கு ராமலிங்கன் திரியன் சானகொனியும் பறவத
66 வத்தினிசாலியும் ஒப்பு [1°] இந்த தானப்பிறமாணம் காளழுதி-
67 ன தயிநகமாதெவர் கொலில் சன்னதி சிராமத்தில் வட்டியி-
68 ராபண கொலிலி புத்திறன் வயத்தியனாதன் எழுத்த [1°] முன்பு
69 காமலிநுரி ஆவணிமாதம் நடவ பூதப்பாண்டி அகரத்த
70 மாதெவன் புத்திறன் குரியாராயணப்பட்டர் உளிட்டாருக்கு கம்-
71 பிச்சகொடுத்த துலியம் சாத்திய தானப்பிறமாண ஒ-
72 லை கம் சிலவகக்கு வகத்தடி ஒலை கம் கூசு வகலுரி காது
73 னு சம் சாத்தியை மாதம் லை உ குரியாராயண உளிட-
74 டாரொடு பருதக்கு ராமலிங்கப்பட்டர் உட்பட சது தா-
75 னம் செய்த வாகலெ ஒலை கம் பணம் இவ க்ரு அழுதி-
76 வாகலெ அத்த பத்துசெட்டு கம் ஆக ஒலை சம் சிரிபன்-
77 டாததில் கைப்பாணிகளும் செத்தொம் [1°] இந்த
78 உதகதானப்பிறமாண ஒலை பட்டவதத்துப்-
79 டிக்குத் தாயிரோட்டையம் காளழுதின மெற்படி
80 னில் விருக்கும் கிப்பம் அனைஞ்ச பெருமாள்
81 திருநிலைகண்டன் அழுத்த [1°] பீகாஜுவாரிதாலை [1°]

No. 33.—Vadaseri inscription of Kollam 639.

This record engraved on a pillar set up in the Krishnasvāmin temple at Vadaseri is in the Tamil language and alphabet. It registers the gift of some money by a certain Dīrgha-bhātta, an Ārya brāhmaṇa for the midday offerings to the god Rūpanārāyaṇa-vinggar-Emberumān and for feeding a brahman in the temple with those offerings. The astronomical details of the date of donation give the equivalent A. D. 1404, July 9.

The donor Dīrgha-bhātta who is stated to have been a *paradēsi* (foreigner) of the Antārvedi-rājya was in all probability a northern brāhmaṇa; but it cannot be definitely said whether he was a permanent resident at Vadaseri or whether the donation was made by him on the occasion of his pilgrimage to the holy places in

the South. Antarvedi-rājya¹ was the ancient name of 'the tract of land between the rivers Ganga and Yamunā, regarded as a sacred region and the principal seat of Aryan brahmanas. It is supposed to have extended from Prayāga to Haridvārā and was also known by the names of Śaśasthālī and Brahmāvarta'.

Similar donations by northerners have been met with in records of the Tamil districts: the Tiruvoggyār and Tiruvadi Śiva temples were the recipients of gifts by a Kashmir brahman² in the 12th century.

Text.³

First face.			
1	சதவதி ஸ்ரீ [u*] கொல்லம்	29	கா[ஸ்]வதி.
2	கா[ஸ்]வதி கொல்லம்	30	கொல்லம்
3	நாடகஞ்செய்து	31	கடகஞ்செய்து
4	பதினென்று கொ-	32	சக நினை-
5	வாடி கொல்லம்.	33	சீச்சு குரு
6	கொத்து கொ-	34	கொல்லம்.
7	மியுந் திங்கள்.	35	மாசு குரு தி-
8	கொல்லம்[யு]ம்	36	கொல்லம்.
9	பெற்ற உத்திரத்தி-	37	கொல்லம்.
10	ஸ் [ஸ்ரீ] காஞ்சிமா.	38	படி. கந்தித்த
11	கொல்லஞ்செய்து.	39	திருக்கு நாள் க
12	கொல்லஞ்செய்து.	40	கொல்லஞ்செய்து
13	கொல்லஞ்செய்து.	41	கொல்லஞ்செய்து.
14	கொல்லஞ்செய்து.	42	கொல்லஞ்செய்து.
15	கொல்லஞ்செய்து.	43	கொல்லஞ்செய்து.
16	கொல்லஞ்செய்து.	44	கொல்லஞ்செய்து.
17	கொல்லஞ்செய்து.	45	கொல்லஞ்செய்து.
18	கொல்லஞ்செய்து.	Third face.	
19	கொல்லஞ்செய்து.	46	கொல்லஞ்செய்து.
20	கொல்லஞ்செய்து.	47	கொல்லஞ்செய்து.
21	கொல்லஞ்செய்து.	48	கொல்லஞ்செய்து.
22	கொல்லஞ்செய்து.	49	கொல்லஞ்செய்து.
Second face.		50	கொல்லஞ்செய்து.
23	கொல்லஞ்செய்து.	51	கொல்லஞ்செய்து.
24	கொல்லஞ்செய்து.	52	கொல்லஞ்செய்து.
25	கொல்லஞ்செய்து.	53	கொல்லஞ்செய்து.
26	கொல்லஞ்செய்து.	54	கொல்லஞ்செய்து.
27	கொல்லஞ்செய்து.	55	கொல்லஞ்செய்து.
28	கொல்லஞ்செய்து.	56	கொல்லஞ்செய்து.
		57	கொல்லஞ்செய்து.

1 गङ्गावतुर्गोम्यदेशः । अन्तरवायुविहारपर्यन्तदेशः । अन्तर्वेदिषः । तत्पर्यायः अन्तर्वेदी ॥
—Śaśasthālpaurāṇa, Vol. I, p. 54.

एते भगवतो भूमिदेवास्तौ मूलमायतनमन्तर्वेदिषौ च विन्दन्मामन्दाकिनौ संगच्छेते ।

—Amrgharaghava, 7 (Apte)

2 Madras Epig. Rept. for 1922, p. 103.

3 Registered as No. 66 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1934 A. D.

4 This is not understood.

58	ஊடு கி-த-துமப-	78	ஈ ஊம் துச
59	ந கற்பித்து இ-	79	ஈ ஊம் து-
60	துக்கு ஈ சாஜை	80	அபு[த*]ராம முட்டாம-
61	ம் சருவத்துக்கு	81	ஊ நடக்குப்படி
62	ஈ ஊம் துச	82	கற்பித்து திரு-
63	ஈ சாஜை ம் ம-	83	ப்படியில் உடி-
64	சதம் கக்கு இ-	84	கம் செய்து உடி[த*]-
65	தியமுது அ-	85	வருவதுக இப்-
66	டைக்காயமு-	86	பணம் அஞ்ஞாது-
	Fourth face.	87	ம் உண்பயம் டெ-
67	துக்கு ஈ யம்	88	காண்டெர மிக்கு-
68	சந்தனக-	89	காயிலில் கழிச-
69	சப்புக்கு ஈ-ய	90	கனம் உள்வாசி-
70	ம் செய்பமு-	91	யகு செய்வார்க்கு-
71	துக்கு ஈ யம் க-	92	பாடுபயிக்கும து-
72	தியமுதுக்கு	93	அபு[த*]ராம முட்டாம-
73	ஈ யம் துச ஈ	94	ம் நடக்குப்படிக்கு தி-
74	கக்கு மாஸம்	95	ஊட்டெனென் து-
75	கக்கு பரிசை	96	பாசாயண விண்ணகர் எ-
76	கொண்டு க-	97	ம்பெருமா னுக்கு [11*]
77	டக்குப்படிக்கு		

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! On the 11th day of the month of Karkataka in the Kollam year 639, which corresponded to a Monday, Uttiram, fifth *śukla* of the first fortnight, the provision made as charity by Dīrgha-bhāṣṭar, an Ārya immigrant from Antavādi-rājya, for feeding one brahman daily with the food offered to the god during the midday-service in the temple of Rāpanārāyaṇa-vinnagar-Emberu-mān of Vadaṣeri alias Śrīmat Ādityavarma-chaturvēdinaṣṭāḷam, a *brahmaditya* in Naṁjinaḍu is as follows:—

For 2 *nāḍi* of rice, 5 *nāḍi* of paddy and for salt, 1 *uri* of paddy,—in all 5 *nāḍi* and one *uri* of paddy for one day, i. e., 1 *kalam* 2 *tāṇi* 5 *nāḍi* for a month and 12 *kōṭṭai* of paddy for a year inclusive of the excess of 6 days. With this, the charity had to be conducted.

For this, 430 *paṇam* at the rate of 3 *kōṭṭai* for 100 (*paṇam*) and 20 *paṇam* for a (*śaruvam*) brass pot,—in all, 450 *paṇam* (was given):

$\frac{1}{4}$ *paṇam* for betel leaf and arecanut offering, $\frac{1}{4}$ *paṇam* for sandle-paste, $\frac{1}{4}$ *paṇam* for ghee, and $\frac{1}{4}$ *paṇam* for vegetables: i. e., for one *paṇam* which was to be obtained as interest per month, 50 *paṇam* (was given);

i. e., in all, 500 *paṇam* (was given), and the charity had to be conducted unremittingly till the moon and the stars (last).

We, the temple servants, supervisors¹ and *paradēśis*² received this 500 *pa-*

1 The meaning of *śāstrigama-śeyodis* is 'officers in charge of the internal supervision of the temple'. *Asappoludol* of earlier records in northern Travancore is analogous to it.

2 The meaning of *paradēśis* in this instance need not necessarily refer to other Āryan immigrants, but may signify East Coast brahmins in charge of the temple management or simply mendicants.

nam with libation of water on the temple threshold, (and agreed) to Dirgha-bhāṭṭan to conduct (the charity) to (the god) Rūpanārāyaṇa-viṇṇagar-Emberumāṇ, till (so long as) the moon and stars (endure).

No. 34—Inscription in Krishnankoyil.

This inscription which is engraved on the east base of the flagstaff in front of the Krishnasvāmin temple at Krishnankōyil, records that the staff was installed by a certain Gaṇapati, a resident of Kulattur in Kollam 945: A. D. 1770, May 7.

Text.¹

- 1 உகாசமேடு இது விநெதவகுளம் சித்திரைமாதம் உயிசு தினகழக்டிழ-
மையும் சித்திரைகட்டுசெத்திரமும் முத-
- 2 வபட்சத்து சூயசதெசியு சித்திரைமபொகமும் பன்நிக்கணமும் இஃத-
வபதினத்தில துசப்ததிட்டை த[து]மம்
- 3 குளத்துசான் கணபதி சதாசெர்வை உ

Translation.

In the (Kollam) year 945, (which corresponded to the cyclic year) Vikṛiti, on the 28th day of the month of Chittirai, which was a Monday and the 13th (lunar) *tithi* of the first fortnight, with nakshatra Chitrā, Siddha-yōga and Paṇṇi karaṇa—on this auspicious day, the charitable (act of) setting up of the flag (-staff) was (done as) the service of Gaṇapati of Kulattur.

No. 35—Fragmentary Records of the same place.

The other three inscriptions of this temple are fragments, of which two give the Kollam years 548 and 708 respectively, while the third has neither beginning nor end, but seems to have formed part of a record relating to some provision for the feeding of twelve brahmins on *dvādaśī* days. The texts of the dated fragments are however given below, as they may be found useful at some later date.

The king mentioned in the first record is apparently Āḍityavarman Sarvāṅganātha, while the king of the other record is Veṅṇumankopḍa Ūdayamārttāṇḍavarman. Their names are traceable only in part in these inscriptions.

No. 67 of 1084.

- 1 ஸூயஜி ஸ்ரீ கொல்லம் இசுயசு இவனுராயத்த உடுக சென்ற கான் . . .
- 2 ஸசுது ஸூயஜிமத்தலத்த திருக்கடதுர் பஞ்சுராயணகட்ட
- 3 ததுயசுத்திருவடி கொலிர்க்கயிசன் தம்மநாணமாகக்குடுத்த

No. 70 of 1084.

- 1 ஸூயஜி ஸ்ரீ அருவிச்செயல் கொல்லம் கசுய இவ் செத்தினை

¹ Registered as No. 68 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1084 n. z.

- 2 சங்கராசாயன் வெந்தமங்கொண்டபூதலி
 3 சீசுவயரில் ஆரியன் சொக்கன் பெரியபொருளன்

No. 36—Trivandrum Museum Inscription of Kollam 839.

Regarding this inscription, the following note has been made in the *Annual Report on Archaeology for 1096 M. E.*:-

It states that Ichhamm-adikuttyamma and Ayyappan-Marttandan of Seruvilaividu in Chirayinkil-désam were granted the land called Seriyarappivilai in Neyyattinkurai-désam. On this gift-land in Neyyattinkurai, they built a *kol-madam* and *ambalam*, i. e., a shed for travellers and a shrine. For the expenses connected with the consecration ceremony, for the performance of worship of the god Achappillai and for the proper upkeep of the flower-garden attached to the shed, certain house-site gardens and lands were assigned by the donors. A list of them is given. Among the lands so granted there were two, of which portions of income had been previously assigned to two temples and the balance only was available for the present grant. These two temples are Rāṇṇavarattu-Mahādeva and Kandalūrśālai-Mahādeva. The *śālai* on which this inscription is engraved, as well as another bearing inscription No. 2 of Appendix B, which are now preserved in the Trivandrum Museum, appear to have been brought from some place near Neyyattinkurai and Kulitturai, as their contents indicate. The former being from Neyyattinkurai, Kandalūr-śālai mentioned in it is probably identical with Kandalūr, situated 6 or 7 miles from Neyyattinkurai. Kandalūr is repeatedly referred to in Chōla inscriptions, where it also occurs in the contracted form Śālai. Earlier references to Kandalūr are found in a copper-plate record of the Āy chief Karunanda-dakkaṇ (=866 A. D.) and the Sendalai pillar epigraph of the 8th century A. D. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 137). Chēra kings maintained a powerful fleet at this place as well as at Talaikkulam and Karaikkandīvarattu, and several attempts were made by neighbouring kings to destroy them. Successive Chōla sovereigns from the time of Rājaraṣa I claim to have cut off ships at Kandalūrśālai which, as we have noted already, was shortened into Śālai. Rājābhiraṣa I is another of the Chōla kings, who claims to have destroyed the ships at Kandalūr. His long introductions refer to the event by the phrase "Kandalūr-śālaikalam-arutta". His Kanyākumari inscription, like many others, summarises briefly his military achievements thus—"Vira-Pāṇḍiyar-talaiyura Śeralan-Śalaiyura Nāṇḍaiyura tannāḍal-konḍa". The clause means "he who by means of his army took the head of Vira-Pāṇḍya, the Śālai of the Chēra king and Lanka". This introduction makes it plain that Śālai is the name of a place and not a common noun meaning a 'charity institution'. The employment of the words 'tannāḍal-konḍa' 'who took by means of his army,' and the combination of them with Vira Pāṇḍya's head and Lanka would preclude the assignment of any other meaning. In this connection, it may be noted that two other inscriptions, not dated in any particular king's reign, mention "Karaikkandīvarattu kalam-arra yāṇḍa" and "Talaikkulattu kalam-arra yāṇḍu". These have been wrongly connected (*vide Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. II, p. 2) with Rājaraṣa I; but there is not the least warrant for this, as neither 'Śālai' nor 'Rājaraṣa' is mentioned in these records.

Text.¹

First face.

- 1 ஒம் கௌபதே நம [1*]
- 2 தனுவிம் கிபதழம்
- 3 நின்ற கௌவக²
- 4 அரகமெனா கித்தி-
- 5 கை மாதம் ௧௩ செ
- 6 ன்ற கிபதழவாக-
- 7 சயும் கிதீதிரையும
- 8 பூந்நவபக்சிழத்து பவு-
- 9 ரணியும் கிளனா-
- 10 ள் சிறகிண்டிழதெ-
- 11 சத்து செவ்வள்ளி-
- 12 வீட்டில் விச்சகமா-
- 13 திருட்டியும் கணக்கு அப்ப[1*]-
- 14 பன் மாதந்தாண்டது-
- 15 கூட கௌவாற்றங்க-
- 16 செ நெசத்து மாதாவி-
- 17 கிஷ செலிவதாங்கி கி-
- 18 னாக்கு மூத்த தம்புரான்
- 19 திருவுணைம்பந்தி க-
- 20 லப்பிச்சு தந்த திரும-
- 21 கத்தின்படி ஒள்ள தெ
- 22 கிளையில் கல்மடம[1*]
- 23 கல்லகப்பலயும் கெட்ட-
- 24 ச்சு தெ ஹி பஞ்சுளி-² [2]-
- 25 ச கௌ[ச]மகெவி[1]
- 26 தெ மடத்தில் தலைசெழ-
- 27 காதராக வாத திருபெ-
- 28 கு குமபசெநெ கிரக-
- 29 சத்துக்குக் குசாசபி[1*]னை-
- 30 வாதையுக் பூசித்து க-
- 31 தவன பணியிடைபும்
- 32 செய்திருக்கிற பண்ட[ச*]-
- 33 சத்துக்கு ம[1] அம் பிண்ட ப-
- 34 ட்ட பல சிலவுக்கும் திருவி-
- 35 னக்கு எண்ண[ப]ன்-
- 36 பட்ட பணியுடைக்கு[1*]
- 37 கூட உதகபூதவ த-
- 38 கமதான பட்டவமாக
- 39 சத்திராதித்தர் வாத-
- 40 க்கு கட்டாகும் படிக்கு

1 Registered as No. 3 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1896 x. s.

2 The date corresponds to A. D. 1644, March 31.

Second face.

- 41 சிலாவித்த-
 42 மாக நாம் வி-
 43 ட்டு குடுத்த நி-
 44 ன்களும் புற-
 45 வடவளநக-
 46 ரவது [11]திரு
 47 முத்தின்ம-
 48 [12. கடம்] அடக்கி
 49 வெண்புன
 50 செழியதாதி
 51 விளை புள்ளி-
 52 ட்ட புறையடம்-
 53 னுக்கும் வித-
 54 யிலும் நெ-
 55 லிலும் குட-
 56 [ருசவ] க்கழு-
 57 டய வானுய-
 58 திருத்தி-
 59 யம் புள்ளிட்ட
 60 தடி பல-
 61 யம் நெருள் [சா]மெ-
 62 மகரத்த மா-
 63 த[ய]ர் பற்றில்-
 64 நது கடம் அடக்கி
 65 கரையய-
 66 விட்டு தந்த-
 67 , நெருள்-
 68 யம் வித-
 69 தத்து வெட்டி-
 70 குத்து தடி-
 71 து-
 72 கன் தாய்-
 73 ரர் நெருள்-
 74 க் பெருவா-
 75 யோ மா-
 76 ஆண்ட-
 77 பகித்து வ-
 78 ந.மாநா-
 79 ல் பெருவா-
 80 க்கு தென்-
 81 க் கண்ட-
 82 [சா]மெகரத்து

Third face.

- 83 மாநெருள் அஞ்சி-
 84 ன் து வார[ம்]பெருவென்-

- 85 மெ வலியவயல் உள்ளிட்ட
 86 தடி ன உ உ ன நெயும் [கொ]-
 87 க்வலில் பங்குளத்தின் கி-
 88 ழ் மஞ்ஞற்கற கு உடு [ம்] அ-
 89 யிக்கா வட்டத்த புதுக்குளத்தி-
 90 ன் கீழ் [எ]ரிச்சிலற தடி க
 91 உ மெம் தெதடி உ காச் எந்-
 92 ருசிரவிகுத்தியும் மஞ்ஞற்-
 93 . . . கடமபும் பொன்னும்
 94 னுளக்கொட்டு என-
 95 பொன் னுளத்தின் கீழ்
 96 னுளத்தற தடி க உ பபம் குஞ்-
 97 க கண்டம் உ சபம் வித்த-
 98 கொள்ளி உ எபம் . தெ
 99 தடி க உ பம் வள்ளல் தடி
 100 உ உ பரு காவடி தடி உ உ
 101 . குமள மெச்சன் உ அப
 102 வள்ளியாதற உ பம் னுள-
 103 வடி தடி உ உ உ பபும் புலிய-
 104 டி தடி உ உ உ பபும் மெக்குறெ-
 105 ச புவச்ச [பு]செயடத்தில்
 106 பாதியும் தெ சாவல் புலி-
 107 வடி தலெபுசெயடத்தி-
 108 ன் வடக்கு கிழக்குறெ வி-
 109 த்தகொள்ளி வயல் தடு-
 110 ன புசெயடத்தின வட-
 111 க்கு ரீச்சகுவுகங்க்கும்
 112 அகத்த அகப்பட்ட காப்-
 113 புசெயடத்தாலில் பாதி-
 114 யும் ஆலத்தாச் தெசத்த ச-
 115 சப்புசாட்டில் னுளத்தின் கி-
 116 ழ் காத்தனார் சாலை ம-
 117 சதெவர்க்கு வசைம் பொக
 118 வெண்டு மருதற தடி க உ
 119 மெ பம் செறிய புலியடி
 120 தடி க உ டு பம் புத்தற தடி க உ
 121 இ பம் கொணத்து தடி க உ
 122 சபம் தெக்கெப்புத்தற தடி க உ
 123 சபம் காணக்கொட்டு

Fourth face.

- 124 செறகொட்டு
 125 புசெயடக்கொ [கு]
 126 கிவ்வக [தடி]
 127 பவ உயனவ
 128 சபம் வித்த பு-
 129 செயடக்கொ [ம்]
 130 உட மடப்பிறம-

- 131 எஃசத்திராதித்-
 132 தர் வசெக்கும்
 133 தம்மம் நடக்கும்-
 134 படி யிட்டுக்குடி-
 135 த்து [110] சித்தமட த-
 136 தம்ம நடக்குவ-
 137 குமிடத்த பாத-
 138 மொருவர் சி-
 139 த்த மடத்தக்கும் தி
 140 வங்களுக்கும் பு
 141 செபடங்களு
 142 க்கும் அருதம் செ
 143 சம்பெபாத-
 144 ள் தம்மம் மச-
 145 தா சிதானவ செ-
 146 ளன்ற தொழ-
 147 த்தியும் சிஞம-
 148 ள்வா சென்-
 149 த தொழத்திய-
 150 ம் செங்கை-
 151 சசில் காரும்-
 152 பகனவ செ-
 153 ள் தொழத்தி-
 154 ம் பொய்யாரு-
 155 யும் சித்த தம்ம-
 156 த்தக்கு அனக-
 157 வம் செப்ப-
 158 யர்கள் பாத-
 159 மசாண்டய
 160 பாநாசகி-
 161 தத்தில் செ-
 162 வாராகயம் [110]
 163 மூலாவத-

Translation.

Om ! Adoration to Ganapati !

The following are the lands and *purnaiyidams* which we, Ayyappan-Mārtanday and Ichchanmādikkuṭṭiyuma of Chervavilividu in Chirayinkil-dēsam, assigned—on this day, *i.e.*, after three days of the month of Chittirai of the Kollam year 839, when Jupiter was in Dhanus, and which corresponded to Thursday, the Chitra-nakshatra and the full-moon *tithi*,—as a charitable gift followed by libation of water, to last as long as the moon and the sun endure, and we had the gift engraved on stone, for supplying water to strangers, for the *paṇḍāram* who conducts the worship of the god Āchārappillaiyār and does the service of maintaining the flower-garden and for other incidental expenses, as well as for the money required for the expenses of supplying oil to sacred lamps to be kept in the stone shrine,

built and consecrated on the 14th day of Paṅguni in the said year, in the Śeriyatānniṭṭai of Maṇali in the village of Neyyattinkarai, according to the royal order which the reigning king¹ had been pleased to grant to us:—

The gardens and other lands comprised in Śeriyatānniṭṭai, which had been obtained by us inclusive of kaḍamai according to royal order:—

land of 3 *kalam* comprised in many *taḍi*s in Vāṇiyatiruttu of . . . ;

Pilaviṭṭai, situated in the holdings of the temple of Rāmāśvarattu-māḍēvar with the right of enjoyment of kāraṇmai and kaḍamai;

the land called Vēttitiruttu (having the sowing capacity) of three *kuṟuṇi* comprised in one *taḍi*, situated to the east of the above;

the middle portion of the land called Valiyavayal and some other lands (having the sowing capacity) of 2 *kalam* comprised in seven *taḍi*, situated on the southern side of the high road in Maṇali, which had been under our enjoyment, having been obtained by our maternal relations as *stridhana*, exclusive of one in five of the *vāraṁ* assigned already to the temple of Rāmāśvarattu-māḍēva;

the land called Maṇṭṭarakaṇa, measuring 10 *para*, comprised in a *taḍi* and situated to the east of the tank named Kollayil-māṇḍuḷam;

the land called Eriṇchilara (having the sowing capacity) of 10 *nāḷi* comprised in one *taḍi* to the east of the tank of Pudukkūlam.

the *kaḍama* and gold from Eṇṇāvarivirutti, Maṇṭṭara ;

the land called Kuḷattara to the east of Eṇṇāṇḍukūlam in Ōmaṇḍōḍu, measuring 10 *para*, comprised in one *taḍi*;

. *kuḍam*, (having the sowing capacity) of 4 *kuṟuṇi*;

Vittukolli, (having the sowing capacity) of 7 *kuṟuṇi* and another of 2 *kuṟuṇi*;

Vallal, measuring 1 *kuṟuṇi*, comprised in two *taḍi*;

Kāyaḍi, measuring . . . , comprised in two *taḍi*;

Maḷamechchan, measuring 8 *kuṟuṇi*;

Vallivāra, measuring 1 *kuṟuṇi*;

Kuḷavaḍi, measuring 2 *kuṟuṇi*, comprised in two *taḍi*;

Puḷiyāḍi measuring 2 *kuṟuṇi*, comprised in two *taḍi*;

half of Mekkuttara Puvāḷcha-purayadam;

half of the land measuring 3 *kuṟuṇi* situated to the north of Puḷiyāḍi-talaippurāiyiḍam, to the north of Vittukollivayal-talaippurāiyiḍam and the lands *karaippurāiyiḍam* included in the water course;

the land called Maruḍara situated to the east of the tank of Śarappukkaḍu in the village of Ālattār, measuring 12 *kuṟuṇi* comprised in one *taḍi*, obtained exclusive of the *vāraṁ* assigned to the temple of Kaṇḍaḷūrāḷai-mahāḍēva;

Śeriyapuḷiyāḍi, measuring 5 *kuṟuṇi* comprised in one *taḍi*,

Puttara, measuring 5 *kuṟuṇi* comprised in one *taḍi*;

Kōṇam, measuring 1 *kuṟuṇi* comprised in one *taḍi*;

1 The Maṭṭa-Tambirāṇi is probably Vira Ravi-Raviyāman.

Tekkepputtara, measuring 4 *kurumi* comprised in one *taḍi*;
the *puraiyidams* of Śeṅkōḍu in Kapakkōḍu;

Thus, in all, land measuring 11 *kalam* and 11 *kurumi* comprised in many *taḍis*.

These *puraiyidams* also were assigned towards the requirements of the shed, so that the charity may be conducted as long as the moon and the sun endure.

While the charity relating to this shed is being conducted, if any one should cause evil to this shed, and to these lands and *puraiyidams*, he shall incur the sin of killing his mother and father, the sin of killing Brāhmanas and the sin of killing tawny cows on the banks of the Ganges. Those who act in favour of this charity, shall attain the lotus feet of Paramēśvara. Be it well!

No. 37—Trivandrum Museum Inscription of Kollam 957.

This Tamil inscription is engraved on a slab now preserved in the Government Museum at Trivandrum; but it must have belonged to Kulitturai.

It is dated in Kollam 957 and states that a private individual named Pich-chai-Pillai Kappam-Pillai of Maṇjavilāgam house in the village of Kulitturai constructed a shed to the east of the market, sunk a well, fitted it with a water-cistern in stone, and made a gift of land. Arrangements were made to refresh men and animals passing on the way. Men were employed at the shed to see that the cistern was kept filled with water at all times, so that jaded animals may quench their thirst. Travellers were also offered cool or hot water for drinking, pickles to eat, chumam for chewing and torches to help them in their night journey. It is stated that arrangements were also made to see that ropes and *pālai* (palmyrah leaf basket) were kept ready always for drawing water from the well and that the shed was properly roofed, and kept tidy all through the year. This private charity speaks for itself and needs no comment. Other similar inscriptions show that there were similar rest-houses maintained, affording comfort to travellers on the roads at Nattālam, Āṅṅar, Puḍar and Mayilōḍu near Tiruvīḍāṅḍōḍu. The *ambalam* at Mayilōḍu supplied way-farers with buttermilk also. It is enough to say that these free refreshment stages existed at short intervals on main roads of traffic to give shelter to, and to relieve considerably the fatigue of travellers, in those pre-railway days when pedestrianism and carts were the only modes of travel.

It may be noticed that although the script employed is Tamil, the language which is mainly Tamil is interspersed with a few Malayalam expressions and forms. The English equivalent of the date of the record is A. D. 1782, July 22.

Text.¹

- 1 ததவில கிபதாஸம்
- 2 திவந்த கொல்லம் கர.
- 3 இவ்வாறு ஆக மாந.
- 4 ம் பத்து சென்ற தி.
- 5 கதாச டகாஸம் மூலகம்
- 6 பூபட்சத்து திறையொடு.
- 7 ததெழும் இவ்வாறும் குறு.
- 8 த்துறை தெசத்து மஞ்சரி.

¹ Registered as No. 2 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1896 A. C.

- 9 னாகத்து விட்டில் பிச்சப்பிள்-
 10 னை கண்ணம்பிள்ளை மெல்-
 11 ப்படி தொசத்து பழவாக்-
 12 தரில் கிளக்கெப்பி-
 13 தத்தில் அம்பலயும் செ-
 14 ட்டி கிணறும் வெட்டி-
 15 தொட்டியும் அடிச்சிட்டு-
 16 டு தொட்டியில் வெள்ளம்
 17 கொரிவிக்கவும் சாவி-
 18 ல் குடி வெள்ளம் கொரிவி-
 19 டயும் வெள்ளீர் னாறகாப்
 20 குறித்தயும் சன்னாம்பு
 21 வெண்டி இடயும் பாரையும் கய-
 22 றும் வளைக்கும் வெ. அம்பலம் ஒ-
 23 வ செட்டு வளைக்கும் நடக்கா-
 24 யு தூட்டிக்கயும்¹ இந்த வளைக-
 25 ன வ[ல்லா]ம் நடத்தி வருக-
 26 த பண்டாசலக்கு நிற-
 27 லயும் புரபெட்டும் செம்மம் செ-
 28 [ந]டிக்கிடுக்கு வளை பா-
 29 கொடு தொத்து மெக்கென்-
 30 ன்களா மெல் விட்டு

Second face.

- 31 மெலவிட்டு கிளாக
 32 புரபெட்டி [எரு சல்]² களாச
 33 வெண்டி கிளவிட்டுக் கொ-
 34 சன்னாபாரகயும் [ந] இந்த எ-
 35 னுத்தின்படி உன்ன தம்மம்
 36 களியும் நடத்திவருகிற பன்-
 37 டாசலக்கு நிறவும் பு-
 38 சபடயும் செம்மம் செ[ந]டி[வி].
 39 ட்டெக் குறித்தவளை அன்-
 40 டுகொடு தொத்து அ[னில்ல].
 41 கொட்டு கொணத்து பாதி-
 42 சிவரங்குளத்தாலும்
 43 தெவன்னுத்தாலும் கிள்-
 44 வெக்கெறெ தடி க கிளம்
 45 [க ப] வெ தொத்து வெக்கெ-
 46 சங்குளத்தின் கிள் படப்பற
 47 தடி க கிளம் கூ ப[ரு]வந்து-
 48 தொத்து கரபாரைக்குளத்தி-
 49 ன்விள் னாறாற தடி க கி-
 50 லம் எப டு உ-ம் வயக்கலத்த
 51 ன் கிளும் தெற்கு கூ-ம் புள்ளை
 52 க ம் ஆக தடி கூ கிளம் கள சபடு

1 This word is a variant of கண்ணக்கம்.

2 Probably கருபதா.

- 53 உன் தெக்கு உம் புன்னை க-ம்
54 வெ அம்பலத்து யடக்கு ப்[திரு]த்த
55 யினா[க]த்தி[ம்] இருக்கெ விடு.
56 க் யினாக விருட்சக-
57 னும பஞ்சகதயிஸ் தெக்கெ.

Third face.

- 58 யினாகம் புர-
59 யடத்தினு [நாலெ]-
60 ஸ்கை கி[னெ]-
61 ஸ்லி அரகன்-
62 செர் யினாக-
63 த்தினுக் கெக்கு [தென்].
64 ஸ்லி இடயி-
65 க்குக் யடக்கு கெ[னெ]-
66 ஸ்லி தரக-
67 [கெ]டு புரகிடத்தி-
68 னும கினக்கு ய-
69 டயல்லை நாலெ-
70 யினாகத்தினு-
71 க் தெக்கு இயெ(ன்)-
72 ஸ்கை கெய்க்-
73 கிடத்த கெனெ-
74 ட்டு யினாகம்
75 புரகிடத்தினு
76 கெடு க-க்கு பரட்டா-
77 கெய் தனக-
78 கம் ர கடுயும் க-
79 க்கி ர யதி-க்குக் கி-
80 ஸயு வெ அம்பல-
81 க் ஸ்கைட்டு ய-
82 கைக்கு ர க-ம்
83 பரகையும் கயத-
84 க்குக் ர க-ம் க-
85 ஸ்னா[க் பு]-
86 க்கு ர கடுயும் க-
87 யுகாதி [கை]க்கு
88 ம[க] சரி யழிபெ-
89 க்குக்கு குட்டுக்கு-
90 க்கெய்கைக்கு ர க-
91 க் ஆக இந்த யகைக்கு-
92 கலய ர யதி-யும் இது.

Fourth face.

- 93 [ய] க் தெழிக்க-
94 ஸ விட்டில் பெ-
95 க் உடமயாக
96 அனுபகி-
97 கெய்நெ ஸ்ன-
98 தின பிற(ச)காத-

- 99 க் தம்மக் [ச]டப்[ச]-
 100 வைக்[ச]உம ச-
 101 துவகார்பு
 102 தருமம் நடத்திக்
 103 சென்னுவார-
 104 கவும் இந்தப்படி த-
 105 தம்ம நடத்துவரவெ
 106 எநொரு காவலும் பா¹.
 107 தர ஒருத்த சூ-
 108 லும் தம்மத்த-
 109 க்கு விக்கியக் வரு
 110 த்தனை பெர்சன்
 111 இ[ச] தம்மக் [ச]-
 112 டக்கின பாயம்
 113 [ச]ததுக்கொ-
 114 ள்னுவார-
 115 கவும் இந்தப-
 116 படி தம்மத்திக்-
 117 ச வெ அம்பல-
 118 ததுக்கு இந்த வரு-
 119 ம்படி எவ்வாற-
 120 தானகர சூ-
 121 தெந்திரகரவெ
 122 தத்தெதிப்பே-
 123 தெசமெ கத்து
 124 வெட்டி நாட்டி-
 125 தெந்த தெச-
 126 க்கு கன்ன-
 127 ம் தென்னை கு-
 128 மரகவாமி துனை [ச*]

Translation.

On this day tenth, expired, in the month of Ādi of the Kollam year 957, when Jupiter stood in Dhanus, (and which corresponded to) Monday, the Mula- (nakshatra), and the thirteenth (tithi) of the first fortnight, Pichchappillai-Kannam-pillai of Manjaviḷāgam house in the village of Kulitturai built a shed, dug a well, made a water-cistern on the eastern side of the old market in the said village, and assigned the following lands and house-site gardens and money for drawing water and filling up the cistern, for drawing drinking water and keeping it in a pot (śāl), for supplying hot-water and pickles, for giving chunam, for keeping a palm-leaf basket and rope, for thatching the shed with palm-leaves, for supervising the shrine Naḍakkāvu in it, for the *pauḍāram* and who had to manage these arrangements:—

1 The syllables *arGa* are entered below the line.

2 The letters 'உம் பா' are engraved below the line.

seventy and half *kāṣṭu* shall be obtained from the house-site garden of Melaiṭṭu-*viḷāgam* situated in Mekkipkarai in the village of Pākōḍu and used for expenses.

The following are the lands, gardens and money, assigned for the *paṇḍārams* who have to conduct the charities mentioned in this written deed:—

land (having the sowing capacity) of 6 *kuṟuṇi* comprised in one *taḍi* in Kīṭṭeṅgarai, fed by water from Devaṅkuḷam and Padiriyaṅkuḷam and situated in Aḷḷakōṭṭu-kōṇam forming part of the village of Aṇḍukōḍu;

land (having the sowing capacity) of 3 *kuṟuṇi* comprised in one *taḍi* in Padappara under the tank of Veṅgarāṅkuḷam and situated in the same village;

land having the sowing capacity of 7 *kuṟuṇi* and 5 *nāḷi* comprised in one *taḍi* in Uḷāpa under the tank of Śurappāḷikuḷam and situated in Muvaṇṇudēsam;

3 coconut trees and 1 *paṇṇai* tree standing on the land called Vayal-kalakkal;—

all together, (the portions assigned) are 3 *taḍi* of land having the sowing capacity of 1 *kalam* 4 *kuṟuṇi* and 5 *nāḷi*, three coconut trees and one *paṇṇai*.

The house situated in the *viḷāgam* on the northern side of the shed together with the trees standing in the same *viḷāgam* (were) also (given).

The four boundaries of Tekkiviḷāgam-*purayidam* of Paṇḍjukkadaḷ (given to this) are:—

The eastern boundary is to the west of Aralapheri-*viḷāgam*; the southern boundary is to the north of Idakai; the western boundary is to the east of Tāḷaga-kōḍu-*purayidam*; and the northern boundary is to the south of Nāvarai-*viḷāgam*.

Out of the annual *pāṭṭam* money viz., 12 *paṇam* due on the Melaiṭṭu-*viḷāgam-purayidam* lying within the above named four boundaries, after deducting 1½ *paṇam* for, the expenses for the remaining 10½ *paṇam* are:—

6 *paṇam* for thatching the said shed with palm-leaves;

2 *paṇam* for palm-leaf baskets and rope;

1½ *paṇam* for chunam and for pickles; and

1 *paṇam* for supplying wayfarers with torches;

thus the 10½ *paṇam* are for these items of expenses.

Thus shall the incomes from Telikkāvu-*viḍu* be rightfully enjoyed and the charities mentioned in this written deed conducted. If, while the charities are being conducted in this manner, any one should at any time, cause obstruction to this charity, he shall incur the sin of having stopped this charity. Thus agreeing, Pichchaippillai-Kaṇṇampillai assigned all these incomes as free gift to the said shed, so that they may last as long as the moḡu exists and be enjoyed in succession. This was caused to be engraved on a stone and (the latter) was ordered to be set up.

No. 38—Pudur inscription of the year 836.

This inscription is engraved on a pillar in a *maṇḍapa* at Pudevūr, a hamlet of Tiruvidāṅgōḍu. It is in the Tamil language and characters.

Text.¹

1	அரகம்.	40	தன்-
2	கருணை	41	யிரு-
3	[10] செல் பன்-	42	ம் திவு-
4	விசைசு	43	ம் முட்-
5	சுதரன்	44	டர்-
6	சுதரன் செ-	45	மெ-
7	விசை அம்-	46	ம் இ-
8	பன்-	47	ருட்-
9	ததுக்-	48	து ந-
10	ரு மெ-	49	-த்தி
11	ம் ப-	50	வித-
12	டி ப-	51	தது க-
13	சன்	52	ட[10*]ம-
14	உடப்-	53	யுக்
15	திரு-	54	இத-
16	தரன்	55	தது
17	சரசு-	56	பர்-
18	விசை	57	விச-
19	சரசு-	58	கரு-
20	தது-	59	சரசு-
21	மம்	60	யதர்-
22	தர-	61	சரசு-
23	சன்	62	யுக்
24	ருட்-	63	உடு-
25	தது தி-	64	ப்பர்-
26	சன்	65	ம்
27	புது-	66	சு-
28	யுசு	67	ன்-
29	ருள-	68	சுசு-
30	தது இ-	69	ன் த-
31	ன் மு-	70	சுரு [10].
32	ருக்க-	71	ம்-
33	சுத	72	த ப-
34	உ ப-	73	ன்
35	யுக்	74	யு
36	சுத-	75	ம்
37	திரு-	76	சு-
38	தமெ-	77	தி[10*]
39	சமெ-		

Translation.

To the shed (*ambalam*), built by Ichchuran-Ichchuran of Pallichchai on the 14th day of the month of Tai in the year 826, Nachchiyar-Asundammal the uterine sister of the above person, made a gift of the land called Murukkurai (having the sowing capacity) of 3 *kurumi* (of seed) situated to the east the tank at

1 Registered as No. 70 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1926 n. e.

Puduvur, so that water and fire (perhaps torches) may be kept up without default and the land enjoyed in succession, paying the usual taxes— (She also gave) three *panam* for the clothing required annually. Hari!

Inscriptions at Tiruvidaikkōdu.

Tiruvidaikkōdu which is a small hamlet about three miles to the east of Padmanābhapuram contains an old Śiva temple with a shrine of Śasta also located within the same building. In the south *prākāra* of this temple lies embedded a rough boulder of rock and on it have been engraved the records relating to the temple grants. Two of the earliest of these belonging to the Āy king Kōkkarunandadakkāṇ (A. D. 855) of the 9th century A. D., and two other Vattēluttu epigraphs² of about the 10th and 11th centuries have already been published. From them, it is evident that the temple dates from at least the third quarter of the 9th century. Local tradition derives the name of the temple from *tiru*=beautiful or sacred, *viḍai*=bull (Nandi), and *kōdu*=hill top and Tiruvidaikkōdu may then be considered as synonymous with Vrishabhādri; but the real name is Iḍaikkōdu and occurs thus in the temple's inscriptions.³

The subjoined are the other inscriptions found in the temple, either engraved on the rock referred to above, or on detached stone slabs set up in the temple compound. The *śaṅga-mandapa* round the central shrine appears to have either been erected or renovated in Kollam 769 and its pillars contain the names of their respective donors.

No. 39—Record of Ravi-Ravivarman of Kollam 548.

No. 5 of the Travancore Epigraphical collection is an important record from the palaeographical point of view, as it is specifically dated in Kollam 548 (= A. D. 1373) in the latter half of the 14th century in the reign of the Travancore king Ravi-Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi of Kīlappettūr. The language of the inscription is Tamil as is natural in the southern corner of the Travancore State, but the script employed marks an intermediate stage between Chōla-Grantha as such, and modern Malayalam which traces its origin from the former.

Malabar tradition ascribes the introduction of the Grantha alphabet for writing Malayalam works to the poet Tuṇjattu Ramanujan-Eḷuttachchan,⁴ 'the father of Malayalam literature', who is believed to have flourished in the early part of the 8th century of the Malabar era. But it seems likely that the adaptation may have been made a century or more earlier, and that in the time of this poet the

1 *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. I, p. 14-15.

2 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 198-200.

3 See page 150 below.

4 Burnell's *South Indian Palaeography*, p. 42.

new script may have undergone some standardisation in form¹ and received more popular acceptance. With the introduction of a greater percentage of Sanskrit words in their unadulterated forms in medieval Malayalam literature as opposed to the earlier compositions which were less saturated with this foreign element, and with the popularisation of the hybrid *maṇiprāṇḍā* style which forms a distinctive feature of the Malayalam language, the older indigenous Vatteluttu script with its limited range of letters was found inadequate for the purpose of writing literary compositions in; and the Nambudiri brahmins who were the sole custodians of learning in Malabar in the earlier days, adopted the Grantha alphabet for their literary purposes. This script, supplemented by a few letters such as *la*, *ra*, *ḷa* foreign to the Aryan language but borrowed from Vatteluttu, has been standardised as the modern cursive Malayalam alphabet, the only change that it has undergone in all these centuries being but a rounding off of its angularities, which differentiates it from modern Grantha and gives it the appearance of an individual script. Palaeographical evidence discloses that Grantha was only sparingly used in early Vatteluttu inscriptions for representing Sanskrit words, and that by about the 14th century, Grantha was adopted in its entirety for purposes of engraving inscriptions and copying manuscripts side by side with Vatteluttu, which still continued to be used.

The present record of the latter half of the 14th century is a noteworthy inscription in this respect. It marks a stage wherein the letters while retaining still their affinity to the Grantha forms have developed certain characteristics which have descended down to modern times in Malayalam. The letters also bear a marked resemblance to the alphabet employed in the Kottayam plates of Virarāghava-chakravartin, and this similarity goes a long way to confirm the assignment of the latter to the 14th century A. D.² Some of the remarks made by Mr. V. Venkayya in regard to the peculiarity of the alphabet of that record applies with equal appropriateness to the script of the present epigraph:

(i) the group *kē* is expressed by adding a second horizontal stroke above the middle line forming part of the single letter;

(ii) the rough *r* is used in several places and the semi-circular loop of *u* is affixed at its bottom as in modern Malayalam;

(iii) the secondary *ā* length is a distinct symbol and the forerunner of the Malayalam in-turned loop *ā*, and the secondary *i* and *ī* are represented by curves on the top of the letters;

(iv) *ta* and *na*, while retaining their affinity to the Grantha group, also approximate in their forms to their Malayalam equivalents;

(v) *ṇa*, *ya*, *ṭa*, and *ra* have almost their modern forms in Malayalam;

(vi) *bha* retains its Grantha form and has not degenerated into *ba*; and

(vii) conjunct consonants are written one over the other, as in *ṣeyda*, *mukappaḍi* (l. 19, 5), in combination in a single symbol *ttu* (l. 6) and in juxtaposition in other places *aiṇṇṇṇṇu* (l. 1), no uniformity being maintained.

1 Burnell does not credit him with any attempt at systematisation in the orthography of the Ārya-
śaṅkṣa except the introduction of the letters *r*, *ḷ* and *ḷ*— p. 42.

2 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV, p. 292.

It may thus be seen that the characters approximate to the modern Malayalam adaptations than to the original Grantha letters from which they were primarily evolved, and that this period of borrowal must therefore be at least a century earlier than the period of this epigraph. (i. e.), about the end of the 13th century A. D.

The subject matter of the document does not call for much remark, the record but registering a gift of land for feeding twelve brahmins in the Tiruvīḍaikkōḍu temple during the Viśākham annual festival. The king during whose reign the inscription was engraved was Ravi-Ravivarman Tiruvāḍi of Kīlappēṭṭūr who was ruling over Vepādū. From the temple chronicles as extracted in the *State Manual*¹ we learn that a king called Vira-Mārttāṇḍavarman ruled over Vepādū till about 550 A. D., when he made certain expiatory donations to the temple of Padmanābhavāmin at Trivandrum; but epigraphical records have till now given him a reign up to Kollam 541 only. As Āḍityavarman Sarvāṅganātha of the Trivandrum Kṛishṇap̄kōyil epigraph² is known to have been ruling in the Śaka year 1296 expressed by the chronogram '*chōlapriya*' corresponding to Kollam 549-50, we have to consider that the Vepādū king Ravi-Ravivarman Tiruvāḍi of the present record was his predecessor. It cannot be definitely stated when Mārttāṇḍa ceased to rule and in what year Ravi-Ravivarman commenced his reign or whether both of them were joint-rulers of Vepādū before Kollam 550.

Śrīvallabha-narāyaṇan, is mentioned in a Chōla-Pāṇḍya record of Chōla-puram as a *brahmadeya* of Nattāra-pōkku in Uttamchōla-rajapādū. Manattittai is a hamlet near Rhotappandi.

Text.

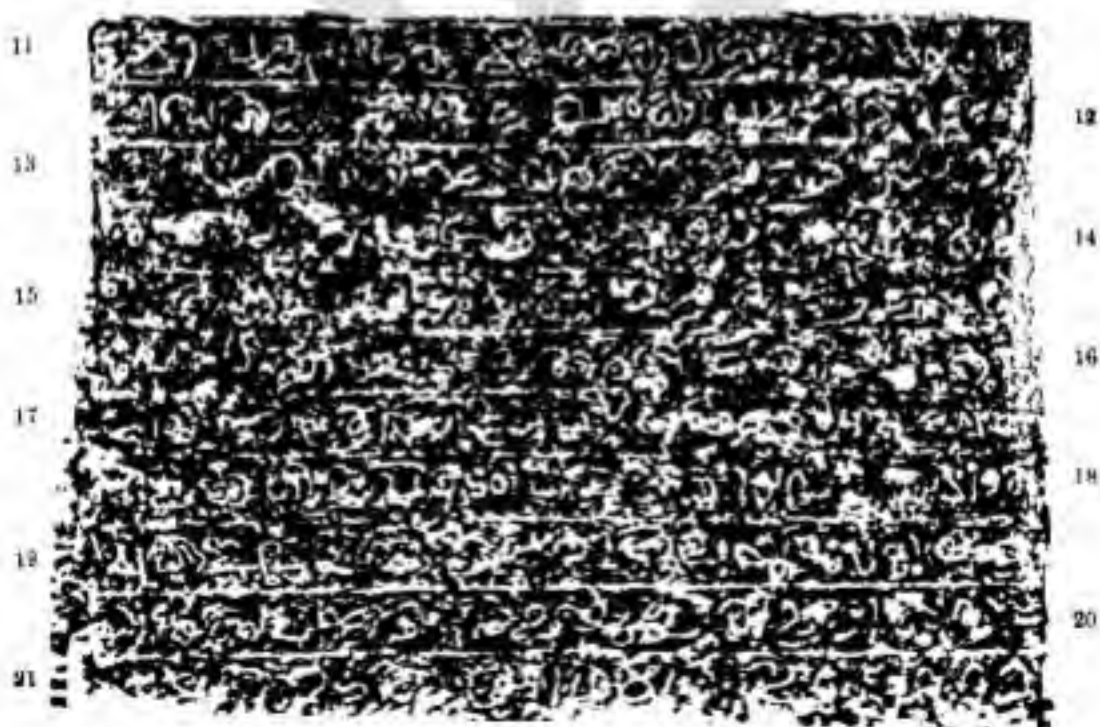
- 1 സ്വസ്തി ശ്രീ [1^a] കൊല്ലം അഞ്ചുരാ നാൾവത്തു എട്ടാ
- 2 രണ്ടു കന്നിരാതിര യകുമാർത്തു പൊങ്ങാട്ടു വ-
- 3 ച്ചത്തമളിൽര കീഴപ്പെട്ടു [2^a] ഇരവി ഇരവിവർ-
- 4 ന്നിരവടി സ്വർഗ്ഗസ്തകവത്തുദാനം കൊടുത്ത നര-
- 5 അന്ന എഴുതിന തിരുമുക്ച്ചടി [3^a] കീഴ്കളശ്ശുററത്തു
- 6 ബ്രഹ്മദേശത്തു ശ്രീവല്ലഭ മൂർത്തിക്കുവത്തു ക-
- 7 വ യജ്ഞന രാമസ്തപ്ത സ്വർഗ്ഗസ്തകവത്തു നാ-
- 8 മ്മിനാട്ടിൽ മണത്തിട്ട പെശാൽ കീഴൽക തിരുപ്പാറ്റു
- 9 മ്മത്ത തിരുവടിക്കു പകതിപട്ട തടി മ നിമ്പ മാക-
- 10 മന്നി മുന്തിയെക്കു മെൽക്കു മരണെൽക തടി മ നിമ്പ [അ]-
- 11 രാവയക്കു വടക്കു മെൽയെൽക തടി മ നിമ്പ അര-
- 12 മാവയക്കു കല്ലക്കു വടക്കെൽക മാപ്താൽക്കു
- 13 പെക്കു ഇരവെൽക നടുവിൽ കിടത്ത കെ ഓ.

¹ *State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 265.

² *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. I, p. 171.

³ Registered as No. 5 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1884 A. D. and No. 47 of 1898 A. D.

THE HAIRKOTI INSCRIPTION OF KOLLAM 535



- 14 നിലം ഒരുമാ തക
 15 ഉതകപ്പുവു താഴ്ത്താൻ ഒരുവരതം-
 16 വെൽ തന്നതിപ്രദേശമെ അന്തിച്ചുകൊ-
 17 ആ കന്നിമാരിന്ന വിശാലം ആദൃതം
 18 നാളക്കു വിശ്വവിദഗ്ദ്ധനാട്ടു ചക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു മാന്ത
 19 വെണ് ഇല്ലമുവന്നാൽ () നാട്ടു ചെമ്പു അരിയും
 20 കർട്ടത്തു പന്തലെയു ചെമ്പൽ വിശാലമാക്കു അമ-
 21 മെയക്കു നെത്തുപ്പാകാൻ ഗുരുള ആക.

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! On the 10th day of the month of Kanni in (the) Kollam (year) five-hundred and forty-eight, the land which was given as *sarvagrastaka-vastu-dānam* (an absolute gift) according to the royal order of Iravi-Iravivarman Tiruvadi of Kīlapperūr, who was ruling over Venādu to Yajñanārāyaṇa-Bhatta of Śrīvallabha-chaturvedīmangalam, a *brahman* of Kīlkalakūgram is to the south of Mupaltūtai in Nāñjnadu and its boundaries are the following:—

the eastern boundary is to the west of the *mākāṇi + mundirikai* of land comprised in two *taḍi* belonging to Maṭṭa-tiruvadi of Tiruppappūr;

the southern boundary is to the north of the $\frac{1}{2}$ mā of land comprised in one *taḍi*;

the western boundary is to the east of the $\frac{1}{2}$ mā of land comprised in one *taḍi*;

the northern boundary is to the south of the channel;

The land lying between these boundaries which is one mā was bestowed as a charitable gift, preceded by a libation of water, to be enjoyed as long as the moon and stars (exist) and in lineal succession, and (with the stipulation) that on the *viśākha*-day in the Kanni month every year, offerings with 9 *nāḍi* of good rice by the home-measure should be made to the god Mahadeva of the Tiruvidaikkōḍu temple and that twelve brahmins should be fed therefrom.

No. 40.— Another Inscription at Tiruvidaikkōḍu.

This record which can be attributed to about the beginning of the 12th century from its writing, is however so badly damaged at its end that nothing could be made of the last two or three lines; but from the legible portion it is seen that it registers a gift of some money by Karpaka-ṣeṭṭi for feeding twelve brahmins

1 Engraved below the line.

2 The writing stops here.

on new-moon days. It may be noted that Āṭṭar was called Vikramachōḷa-Pāṇḍyapuram, presumably after either of the two Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya viceroys Māravarman Vikramaśōḷa-Pāṇḍya or Jātavarman Vikramaśōḷa-Pāṇḍya; and as the alphabet of the record is sufficiently early, it has to be attributed to the time of the former, who was the earlier of the two and who was the second of the viceroys sent out to administer the southern dominions of the Chōḷa king Rajendrachōḷa-lēva.

Text.¹

- 1 ஸ்ரீமதி ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீமதி
- 2 ஸ்ரீமதி ஸ்ரீமதி ஸ்ரீமதி
- 3 பபுரத்த உடையான் பர[ப்ப]ன
- 4 கற்பக செட்டி காரிசரத்தனக்கு
- 5 கக்குடுத்து அயலாதி கன்
- 6 பன்னிருவர் சீதாமனைய
- 7 அருளுசெய்யப்பது அத
- 8 க்கு மெண்டுக் கர்ப்பசை.
- 9 க்கும் கதி[யு]டு அட்டி . . .
- 10 . . . க . . . க . . .
- 11 கட்டி கதி டகல் கதி . . .
- 12 வச செய்-
- 13 கெ கெத . . .

No. 41—Another Tamil Record at Tiruvīḍaikkōḍu.

This Tamil inscription is also engraved in Tamil characters on the same rock embedded in the south *prākāra* of the Śiva temple at Tiruvīḍaikkōḍu. It records the gift of some lands by Udaiyan-Ponnandi and Udaiyamaṅgala-naṅgai of Marudattar, a village in Kuru-naḍu for certain offerings to the god and for feeding seven brahmins in the temple during the *deḍḍaṭi* days of the first fortnight.

The same penalties for default as are found in other records of this type are specified here also, viz., that for every occasion of default, double the quantity at default was to be levied, for two occasions the levy of an additional fine in money was also fixed, and for three (consecutive) occasions, the *śvar* of Marudattar and the temple servants were empowered to cancel the previous agreements and conduct the charity themselves. The terms *ayru*, *yiraṇḍu* and *māyru* have to be taken to refer to the number of occasions of default as in other records, rather than to the number of items of the *menu* that were stopped. The tax on these lands was ordered to be met by the persons supervising their cultivation.

Kadiguppattinam was also comprised in Kuru-naḍu.

Text.²

- 1 ஸ்ரீமதி ஸ்ரீ [1²] தனத்தின் கி[யாழன்] சிங்ந மெடஞாதி-
- 2 ந்து குமாட்டி மருத்தூர் உடைய-

1 Registered as No. 11 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1084 M. S. and 48 of 1098 M. S.

2 Registered as No. 9 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. 1084 M. S. and 49 of 1098 M. S.

- 3 ன் பொன்னுண்டியும் உறையன் மங்-
 4 கலகலையும் திருவிடைக்கெ-
 5 காட்டு திருகொயிற்கல் வாலைய-
 6 வசுத்த ஸ்ரீராமர் ஊட்டுவான் உ-
 7 த்ப்பிச்சத [1*] அசத்த திருவமித-
 8 க்கு அரி என்னுழியும் ஸ்ரீராமன்-
 9 செழுமற்கு கற்பிச்ச அரி பதிகா-
 10 ழியும் இதின்னு வெஞ்சனம் பவ-
 11 ளாழி வரிசை கதியும் [உ]லையும் நத-
 12 செய் புழக்கு மிகு அனையுழக்கு
 13 தெவ்வாய் ஒன்று மொர் முக்கா-
 14 ழிவரி இதின்னு வெண்டும் உப்பு-
 15 ம் புளியும் விதரும் இலையும் செ-
 16 யற்றிலை பொருக்கும் அடைக்கா-
 17 ய் எழுங் கூடி ஸ்ரீராமராவில் ஊ-
 18 ட்டுவான் கற்பிச்ச புழி [1*] தொட்டெ-
 19 காட்டு வெளி மரங்கொட்டு ஓரவ-
 20 த்கந்தடையல் நிலம் குளன் ஐஞ-
 21 ளாழியும் இங்கொடு முட்டாக்கில்
 22 கூடிய நில மிருகுதனியும் உ-
 23 டு நிலம் முக்குதன் அஞ்ஞாழியு-
 24 ம் குடிமார் குழித்தடையல் நிலம்
 25 இருகுதனியும் இவரவழைந் நில-
 26 ம் கரற்குதனியும் கூடி நிலம் அது-
 27 குதனியும் கூடி ஐக நிலம் ஒன்பதி-
 28 ன்குதனி அஞ்ஞாழியும் அங்கி-
 29 க்கு மவர்கல் நிறமார்க்கெ-
 30 மல் செதுக்கியருவது [1*] இ-
 31 தில் ஒன்று முட்டெில் முட்டா-
 32 ட்டு [1*] பிரண்டு முட்டெில் முட்டாட்-
 33 டியுந் தெண்டமு [1*] ஓன்று முட்டெில் மரு-
 34 தத்துர் ஊராகுந் தெவ்வன்மிகனா-
 35 செதுத்தியிக்கொய்வது [1*] தொ-
 36 ட்டுகொட்டு முட்டெக்கில் கூடிய
 37 நிலத்தின்னு வரும் கிதைவரி நில-
 38 த் தளமுறியிது மதிந் தாழத்தைய வ-
 39 ட்டத்திலும் [1*] கரந்தடையலிலும்
 40 ஸ்ரீ எந்தி அந்நிலமங்கரிக்குமவர் [கடமலி]-
 41 தத்த வருவது [1*] குறித்தடையலிலும் இவ-
 42 ரவழைந்நிலம் ஒன்ற கிதைவரி நி-
 43 லம் ஸ்ரீமார் குழித்த [டயல்] நிலத் [நி]ல் கு-
 44 டு எந்தி அந்நிலமங்கரிக்குமவர் கடமலி-
 45 தத்த வருவது
 46 இமமாந்தமெ அஞ்ஞாழிதழிந் செவ்விது [1*]

1 This line is ungraved below the section ending with line 22, owing to want of space.

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the Mēdam month when Jupiter stood in Tūlām, the following was provided by Ūdaiyān-Poppāndi and Ūdaiyān maṅgalattu Naṅgai of Marudattar in Kuru-nādu, for the feeding (charity) during the *dvādasi* (days) of the first fortnight, in the temple at Tirovidaikkōdu:—

for the sacred offerings in the central shrine, 8 *nāli* of rice;

for seven brahmins, 14 *nāli* of rice;

for offerings for the latter, green pulse one *nāli*, fried curry, *ulai*, fragrant ghee one *uḷakku*, pepper half *uḷakku* each, coconut one, butter-milk three *nāli* and one *uri*;

and again for the latter, the required quantities of salt, tamarind, firewood, leaves, one *aḷukku* of betel and seven aracanuts;

for all (the above-mentioned), for feeding on *dvādasi* days the following lands were provided:—

Jñāvaṅkarrudaval field of (the sowing capacity of) one *kuruni* and five *nāli* in Vēlīmāṅgōdu near Tottikkōdu, together with two *kuruni* of land in Muḍōkku, i.e., land (having the sowing capacity) of three *kuruni* and five *nāli*;

land in Kudimār-ttōdaval (having the sowing capacity) of two *kuruni*; land in Pilāvalarai (having the sowing capacity) of four *kuruni*; i.e., land (having the sowing capacity) of six *kuruni*;

—in all, land (having the sowing capacity) of nine *kuruni* and five *nāli*.

Those who supervise these (lands) shall conduct (the charity) in this manner. If it should fail for one occasion, double the default shall be paid; if for two, double the default and a fine shall be paid; if for three the *ārār* of Marudattar and the temple servants shall conduct (the charity) themselves.

Those who supervise the lands shall bring in ryots to the plots called Talamuṇi and those lying below it and Jñāvarrudaval, and thus pay the tax collectable from the lands included in Muḍōkku in Tottikkōdu. Those who supervise the lands in Kudimārkoḷi-ttōdaval shall bring in ryots to them and bear the taxes collectable from the fields Kulittudaval and Pilāvalarai.

No. 42.—A Record dated in Kollam 835.

The subjoined record is engraved in Tamil characters on the four faces of a stone pillar set up in the temple compound. It is dated in Kollam 835, and relates to a gift of land made by Perumāḷ-Tānvaṅ for the maintenance of a water-shed on the bank of the Nāchchiyārkuḷam and has nothing to do with the Tirovidaikkōdu temple. It appears to have been fixed up within this temple at a later date. The caretaker in charge of the wayside choultry had, in return for the lands which were given over to him for enjoyment, to supply water, pickles, salt, firewood etc. to the wayfarers. Another record of a similar nature has been published *ante*.

1. Pirāṅkarrudaval may be Jñāvarkarrudaval.

The donor who is stated to have belonged to the caste (?) called *dēvaputras* of the Kalkulam temple (*Nayinār Kalkulattu-mādvār kōyilil dēvaputararil kaṇak-ku*) was perhaps a *dēvadāsa*, a temple man-servant, as opposed to his counterpart of the other gender, *dēvādāsī*. On account of hereditary temple service, the members perhaps developed into a separate sub-caste among themselves, as in the case of *ambalāṇḍis*, *vāriyārs* etc. It may be noted that *dēva* was also an honorific title used by the *aṅgambāḍi* body-guards of palaces, but these latter were presumably different from the *dēvaputras* of the present record.

Text.¹

First face

- 1 கணிகு ஸங்கு [1*]
- 2 திருநீலகண்ட -
- 3 கவசமபுர அ-
- 4 மனம் ஆனந்த வ-
- 5 ஸ்ரீ அங்கமபுர
- 6 இலட்சுமி [1*] -
- 7 கால்லம் அச நய-
- 8 நய ஆவணியிற் உதிரு-
- 9 கயினார் கங்குலத்து மச-
- 10 தவர் சொகிலிற் தெய்வ-
- 11 புத்திரரில் கணக்கு பெருமான்
- 12 தாணவன் கச்சியரக்கு-
- 13 ஸக்தின் கவரில் அம்பல-
- 14 ம் நீர் [1*] கயபுர பெணி தீபும(ர்)
- 15 தண்ணீரும் கண்ணாமபுர
- 16 மசந்தலியுள் கட்டு ஆகி-
- 17 ச் செய்தெ பெருகளுக்கு சந்-
- 18 திராதித்தவனாக்கும் விட்-
- 19 குருதித் திலமாவது [1*] காஞ்சி-

Second side.

- 20 னாட்டில் எதிச்சிடு-
- 21 னத்தில் அப்பக்குட்டி
- 22 மரடன் நடு சொகா -
- 23 வசந்தி ககாண்ட தில-
- 24 த்துக்கு எங்கை-
- 25 பாவது [1*] மெய்ப்படி
- 26 வரில் பெய்ச்சா-
- 27 ன் குளத்தின் கிள் -

- 28 கெய் மைடப்பெ-
- 29 க்கு தடி நுன்று திலம்
- 30 அமரவுக்கு எங்கை-
- 31 கவாவது பிழ எங்கை-
- 32 க மணசிக்கரை
- 33 கண்டு உழவு தில-
- 34 த்துக்கும் மெக்குத்
- 35 தென்னெய்கை
- 36 சந்திரப்பாலன்
- 37 திலத்துக்கு வட -
- 38 கு மெய்மெய்கை-
- 39 க மணசிக்கரை
- 40 கண்டு உழவு தில-
- 41 த்துக்கும் திலக்கு வட -
- 42 எங்கை மெய்ப்படி
- 43 வகை திலத்துக்கும்

Third face.

- 44 தெற்கு ஆக இயசெய்த பெ-
- 45 குகானெய்கைக்கு உயப்பட்ட
- 46 தடி நுன்று திலம் அமரவுக் மெ-
- 47 வ்ப்படி வகை [1*] நக்குகை-
- 48 தநிக பிழவடக்கு மைட-
- 49 ப்பொக்கு தடி நுன்று தில-
- 50 ம் காவியவாக்காணி-
- 51 க்கு எங்கைபாவது பிழ-
- 52 எங்கை தாழப்பெரு-
- 53 மான் திலத்துக்கும் மெ-
- 54 க்குத் தென்னெய்கை
- 55 அப்பப்பன் பெருமான்
- 56 மடத்துக்கு கிட்டுக்கு-

1 Registered as No. 12 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1964 x. 2.

57	தத நிலத்துக்கும வடக்கு	74	லெ விருத்து தீயும்
58	மெலளளகை எடுத்த-	75	தண்ணீரும் உ-
59	த(ர)பாதம பின்னி திவ-	76	ண்ணுய்பும் உப்-
60	த்துக்கும் பிழக்கு வடவன்-	77	பு ண்தகாயும்
61	கை ஆண்டார் நிலத்து-	78	குடுத்து வினாபுற
62	க்குத் தெக்கு ஆக இயிசெர்த-	79	ஆராய்ந்து கடுத-
63	த பெருகாண்கு எங்கை-	80	வ் கட்டு இருக்கிற மெ-
64	க்கு உள்ப்பட்ட தடி	81	பர்கன் அடுத்த தா-
65	ஒன்று நிலம் காணி அ-	82	விசை கொள்ளுவ-
66	காக்காணியும் ஆக	83	காக்கவும் இப்படி
67	தடி பிரண்டினும் நில-	84	யாவிசை பொருடு-
68	ம் முக்காணி அரை-	85	மடத்து இந்த நில-
		86	த்துக்கும் இந்த தன்-
		87	ம்பர்த்துக்கும் அரு-
		88	தம் செவ்விற பெர்-
		89	கன் மெலளகை-
69	க்காணிக்கு உய்-	90	காவிஸ் காக்கப்-
70	டான இறைகயும்	91	கைவ கொன்ற மெ-
71	பெர்த்தி செழும்	92	தாமத்த பொலாச் ஆ-
72	நுள்ள மிக்கவாச-	93	கவும் [11*].
73	ம் இந்த அம்பலத்தி-		

Fourth face.

Translation.

Hari ! Be it well : May god Tiruvallikappili and goddess Anan-lavalli protect (us).

On the 25th day of Āvaṇi in the Kollam year 835, Perumāl-Tāruvaṇ of the community of Daivaputru an accountant of the temple of Mahā-leva at Kalkulam erected a rest-house, dug a drinking well on the bund of the tank (called) Nāchchiyārkuḷam, and (also) gave as long as the moon and sun endure, the following land for (the supply of) fuel, water and chunam and for (the maintenance of) him who plants and rears mango plants.

The boundaries of the land which was taken on a perpetual lease from Ayyakkutṭi-Māḍaṇ in Erichchikuḷam in Nanji-nāḍu and the boundaries of the *taḍi* of land, half *mā* in extent, lying along the course of the central channel of the Pēychēraṅguḷam in the same village are:— the eastern boundary (is) to the west of the crown lands in Māpalikkarai; the southern boundary (is) to the north of the land belonging to Chandirappāḷaṇ; the western boundary (is) to the east of the crown lands in Māpalikkarai; and the northern boundary (is) to the south of the same land:— i. e., the *taḍi* of land between these four great boundaries is half *mā* in extent.

In the same village, the boundaries of the *taḍi* of land, one and a half *kāṇi* in extent lying in the course of the northern sluice of the tank called [Nāpa] kkuḷam are:— the eastern boundary (is) to the west of the land belonging to Talaipperumāl; the southern boundary (is) to the north of the land assigned to the *maṭha* of Ayyappaṇ-Perumāl; the western boundary (is) to the east of the land belonging to Eduttapāḍam-Pillai; the northern boundary (is) to the south of

the land belonging to *Āṇḍār* i. e., the *ṭaṭi* of land one and a half *kāṇi* in extent lying between these four great boundaries:—

in all, two *ṭaṭi* of land, three and a half *kāṇi* in extent.

The balance of produce (*vāram*) remaining after (payment of) taxes on these lands was to be enjoyed by those who reside in this rest-house, supply fuel, water, chunam, salt and pickles (to wayfarers), supervise the general conduct (of the charity) and attend to the planting (of trees).

When this is being thus enjoyed, those who do evil to this land and to this charity, shall incur the sin of having killed a tawny cow on the banks of the Ganges.

No. 43— A record dated in Saka 1649.

This is another record relating to the feeding of fifty-four brahmins during *deidāni* in the temple of Kōḍambivaramoḍaya-Nayinār at Tiruvidaikkōḍu, for which some lands were given by Perumāṇ-Kaṇḍan, the accountant (*kaṇakku*) of Maṇavaḷakkuricchi in Kudaṇṇipattanam, a village of Kuru-nāḍu which was a sub-division of Rājaraja-Tennadu.

Rājara-Tennadu was the name of the southern portion of the Pāṇḍya kingdom, which Rājaraja had conquered and had rechristened in his own name. From the fact that Kudaṇṇipattanam was situated in Kuru-nāḍu, this sub-division can be located in the modern Eraniel taluk. It may be noted that *kuricchi* and *pattinam* at the ends of place-names are significant of their topographical positions, *kuricchi*, being the name of the hamlets of *kurinjānila-makkal* or hill tribes and *pattinam* that of the villages on the sea-coast in *neydal-nilam*, (e. g., Nāgapattinam, Kulaśekharaṇipattinam).

Text.

1 [சகா]த்தம் ௧௬௪௯.	16 ட்டத்தம் இருந்து இரா.	
2 சலிச செவ்வா தீவ்ற	17 சகாச நென்னுட்டுக் கு.	
3 மெட வியாழம் தீவ்-	18 தாட்டு கடிதகபட்ட-	
4 த செவ்வம் ககா. வ்	19 னம் மணவாளகுதி-	
5 ரிணவக்கவருழம்	20 சகலம் கணக்கு பெருமான் க-	
6 மெடமாதம் சலிச செ-	21 ண்டன் துவாதெதி ன-	
7 சன்ற புநனூட்டகா-	22 ட்டுக்கு தாணப்படுமகா-	
8 பு யகவுழ் பூர்[வ்] பழ-	23 னமாக கிட்ட சிவழமா.	
9 த்து தெசமியும் கா[சு]கா-	24 கிது [ர்] திருவிடைக் கொ-	
10 ன்முத் தவறுத்தி தீத்தி-	25 காட்டு செப்பெகல்-	
11 யபெசகவுழ் பெ[தர்]நா-	26 கருணதின் கழும் வெ.	
12 த் நகாசம் திருவிடை-	Second face.	
13 கொட்டு கொட பீ-	27 ப்பவறக்குன-	
14 இச்சாருமடைய கவி-	28 த்தின் கழும்	
15 னார் திருமுக்காசல் வ-	29 கீருண்டு கொல்	

1 குதிசலி செவ்வா தீவ்ற குதிசலிசலிசத்தம் பபெசக
பதித்தம் முக்கியம்: மாக பட்டினமே செவ்வம் — Chelamam.

2 Registered as No. 13 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1984 A. D.

3 The English equivalent is A. D. 1727, April 19; 81; 32.

30	வினையுத் த-	69	கனிஞ்சுங்கொடு
31	ட்டான்னுட-	70	கிராமத்தார் வசம் கை-
32	வய்தும் வெ-	71	ப்பாவிக்கொயில் தி-
33	ப்பறையும் தடி	72	பண்டார்க்கும் யடி
34	உ உ ¹ அபயம் உ-	73	கடமையுத் இதுத்து
35	ளத்திக்குளத்தி-	74	[த ²] வாதெதி தெரதும் இ-
36	வ் கிழ னாந்து	75	லா பாரமணர்க்கு
37	உன்னிட்ட தடி	76	ஊட்டுகுறையில்
38	க உ களயும் ²	77	கவச்ச ஊட்டு உ-
39	இடைக்கெ-	78	டத்தி பெருமாள் கண்டன் Fourth face.
40	ரட்டு பத்தில்	79	தறவட்டில்
41	இடைக்கெ-	80	துவாதெதி-
42	ரட்டு குளத்-	81	தொதும் சஉ
43	தின கிழ ம-	82	அரிதி சொ அம்
44	திவடி	83	கொடுத்து தற்-
45	க உ ³ நுயும் உ-	84	ம்மபத்தர் [உ]-
46	விஞ்சட்டு-	85	ன்பிச்சு
47	பத்தில் புல-	86	சூசெத்திர-
48	கைமக்குள-	87	யற் ஊட்டு
49	த்தின் கிழ[ம் ⁴]	88	கடத்திக்கொள்-
50	தெ தளக்கு	89	வாராவும்[1 ⁵] இர்-
51	ழக்கிழும் வெ-	90	த தற்ம்மத்தா
52	சல்லன்ஞா-	91	கடத்தியருடி-
	Third face.	92	றவன் கெ-
53	த்தின் கிழும் கிஞ-	93	கைக்களையி-
54	ண்டுளென் வினையுத்	94	ஊ காரம்பக
55	கொடுங்கண் தடி	95	தன்னம் செ-
56	க உ க ⁶ புயும் தெ புரவி-	96	ப்த பறத்த-
57	வ் கடுவுக்கொடு	97	த வடைவார-
58	கடி க உ ⁷ தயும் ஐக தடி	98	கவும்[1 ⁵] இத்தற்-
59	இஞல் உ ⁶ ஊளாப-	99	மம் ஸ்டக்கின
60	புத் துவாதெதி ஊ-	100	பெர்கன் கெ-
61	ட்டுக்கு சடைபப்பர்	101	ம்[கை] கைரயில்
62	கொயில் ஊ-	102	காரம்பகை-
63	ட்டுகுறா மெக்கு-	103	கைக் கொன்ற தொ-
64	க கடைபில் கந்து	104	ழம் அடைபயும்[1 ⁵]
65	வெட்டி நாட்டுகைதி-	105	இத்த கந்து
66	வ் இந்த உ உளடயும் ⁶	106 7
67	பிரமத்தவமாக தி-		
68	ருவிடைக்கொட்டுத்		

1 தடி உ நிலம் என்னுமானியும்.

2 நிலம் நுரு களையும்.

3 நிலம் ஸ்குதுமானியும்.

4 நிலம் அதுருமானியும்.

5 நிலம் துனியும்.

6 நிலம் இஞலையே எழுதுமானியும்.

7 The last line may have contained the word 'காட்டயம்'.

Translation.

In the Śaka year 1649 when Jupiter stood in Meḍam, corresponding to (the) Kollam (year) 902 and the (cyclic) year Plaviṅga, on the 21st (day) of the month of Meḍam, (which was) a Wednesday, and the tenth *tithi* in the first fortnight with nakṣatra Makha, *kaṇṭa*(*ṭa*)-*kaṇṭam* and *vaiṇṭi-nityayōga*—on this day, the lands which Perumāṇ-Kaṇṭan, the accountant of Maṇavāḷakkuruchchi (a hamlet of Kaḍikaiṇṭṭam in Kuru nāḍu, (a sub-division) of Rājarāja-Tēppādu, gave as charity while present in the temple (*ārumukkāḷeṭṭam*) of (the god) Kōḍam-bīṣvaramūḍaiya-nayinār of Tiruvidāikkōḍu, for the purpose of feeding on *dvādasi* days, are the following:—

two *taḍi* of land (called) Tayan-tuḍaval and Veppapai (having the sowing capacity) of 8 *kuruni*, which are irrigable by the Seykāl and Veppapai tanks for growing paddy;

one *taḍi* of land (having the sowing capacity) of one *kalam* under the tank called Uṇṇikkūḷam, inclusive of the spring;

one *taḍi* of land (having the sowing capacity) of three *kuruni* under the Idaikkōḍu tank in Idaikkōṭṭu-paṇṇu;

one *taḍi* of land (having the sowing capacity) of six *kuruni* irrigable for growing paddy from tanks called Puḍarukkūḷam, Tūṇikkūḷam, and Sellanṇikkūḷam in Kaṇiṇṭṭu-paṇṇu;

in the same division, one *taḍi* of land in Nāḍuvakkōḍu (having the sowing capacity) one *tūṇi*;

—in all, from these five *taḍi*, land (having the sowing capacity) of two *kalam* and seven *kuruni* (was given) for the feeding (of brahmins) during *dvādasi* (days) and (this gift) was engraved on a stone which was fixed up at the western entrance of the feeding-house of the temple of Śaḍaiyappor.

This land (having the sowing capacity) of two *kalam* and seven *kuruni* was left as *brahmasēvam* under the supervision of the villagers of Tiruvidāikkōḍu and Kaṇiṇṭṭāṅgōḍu (with the stipulation) that the taxes were to be paid to the temple-treasurers, that fifty-four brahmins should be fed during each *dvādasi* in the feeding-house, that cooked food of four *nḍi* of rice should be given during each *dvādasi* to the *uvavaḍ* of Perumāṇ-Kaṇṭan and that the feeding should be conducted as long as the moon exists, under the supervision of the *dharma-karttās*.

Those that conduct this charity shall obtain the merit of presenting a tawny cow on the banks of the Ganges, and those that obstruct it shall obtain the sin of killing a tawny cow there.

This stone

No. 44—Inscriptions on pillars in the same temple.

The following inscriptions are labels found on the pillars supporting the circumambulatory passage round the shrine in the Tiruvidāikkōḍu temple and record the names of their respective donors. They are not important in themselves, but as it is advisable to bring together all the records relating to the temple in one

place, these are also printed below. One point only is noticeable that all the tables evidently belong to the same year as that mentioned in a few viz: Kollam 769 Arpasi, 12, when the *Surra-mangalapa* appears to have been re-constructed.

- A**
- 1 பரவதச்சுரை
 - 2 செசத்து கண-
 - 3 க்கு நரகன் து-
 - 4 திசசன் பத்தி
 - 5 நுன் துக்கு கொடு-
 - 6 த்த ருபாய

- B**
- 1 பன்னத்து
 - 2 பன்னசை
 - 3 நுப்பப்பன்
 - 4 கண்ணன்
 - 5 பத்திகக்கு
 - 6 உ [சுடல]

- C**
- 1 கழைக்கட்ட-
 - 2 ம் செசத்து
 - 3 கணக்கு இரா-
 - 4 மன் தெயன்
 - 5 செய்கித்த பத்-
 - 6 தி க க்கு ர [சுடல]

- D**
- 1 பரத்திசெகர-
 - 2 மங்கலம் தெ-
 - 3 சத்திய நுந்நகி-
 - 4 னாகத்து விட்டன்
 - 5 செய்கித்த ப-
 - 6 த்தி க

- E**
- 1 குட்டமங்க-
 - 2 கை செசத்து
 - 3 கணக்குப் பெரு-
 - 4 மலை தாமன்
 - 5 கிட்டணன் செ-
 - 6 ய்கித்து ரு-
 - 7 தெத்த பத்திக

- F**
- 1 மருதத்தார்
 - 2 தெசத்து க-
 - 3 கணக்கு இக்க-
 - 4 வான் அய்யப்ப-
 - 5 வ் செய்கித்த
 - 6 பத்தி க்கு ர [சுடல]

- G**
- 1 திருவிடை-
 - 2 த் கொட்டு
 - 3 தெயர் புத்-
 - 4 திரிசு புது-
 - 5 நுர் சடை-
 - 6 பன் சம்-
 - 7 கான் தான்

- H**
- 1 குழிக்காட்டு சர-
 - 2 த்தன் அரவன்
 - 3 செய்கித்த பத்தி
 - 4 நுன் து

- I**
- 1 பன்னத்து
 - 2 நெபன்வி மருதன்
 - 3 நரகன் செ-
 - 4 கிவித்த பத்தி
 - 5 க க்கு ர . .

- J**
- 1 கடுகில் கிளாட்-
 - 2 கிளாசில் கைத்-
 - 3 தான் பெருமான்
 - 4 செய்கித்த
 - 5 பத்தி க

- K**
- 1 எசகலக குறி அற்பரி
 - 2 மாதம் மிக மாத்ரி-
 - 3 கொட்டு முடவன்-
 - 4 புறத்து பெரிய தி-
 - 5 குவடி கலிஞர்
 - 6 திருவனந்தாழ்வான்
 - 7 செய்கித்த பத்தி-
 - 8 நுன் துக்கு குடு-
 - 9 த்த ருபாய

- L**
- 1 எசகலக குறி
 - 2 அற்பரி மாத-
 - 3 க் கிள திருக்கா-
 - 4 . ன்டபத்தம் .
 - 5 கில் தெக்கெ க-
 - 6 கைபுக் கைக்-
 - 7 கெ கைபும

8 . . குத்த . .	2 கொணர் எழுந்தருளியிச்ச
9 . . கத்தய . . .	3 திருப்பூப்பலகை
10	ஊ
1 ஊவழி ஸ்ரீ [1 st] மருத்தார் தெவன்	1 கணகத் போதிக்கு உடயப்பர் தலை

No. 45—Kalliyangadu inscription of Kollam 864.

This record, which is engraved in Tamil on the four sides of a pillar set up in the Bhagavati temple at Kalliyangadu in the Eraniel taluk, registers the gift of some lands made by a certain Chidambaram-Naiyanayinar for offerings and worship to the god Vinayaka set up by him in the *matha* of the village and named Chidambara Vinayaka-p Pillaiyar, after himself. The inscription contains elaborate details of the lands given and of the scales of expenditure to be met in the proper conduct of the charity. The English date is A. D. 1688, November 10, '83; f.d.n. 14.

Text.¹

- 1 மகரத்தில் கியாழம் சிறந்த கொ-
- 2 ண்கள் அங்குசு ஊர் கத்தினை
- 3 1st உகல சலிபாட்டுகதழம்
- 4 சொதியும் அமரபக்கிழசத்த
- 5 திறியொதெதியும் சவுபாக்கி-
- 6 யபொகழும் ஆண்க்காணமும்
- 7 பெற்ற இன்னுழை எழுதின உத-
- 8 கழுதவ தன்ம[த]னை பட்டடய-
- 9 மாவது [1st] தென்னாட்டுக்குத கா-
- 10 ட்டு கிரகாராயணசெலிக் கி[ழ]பால்
- 11 கன்னியல்காட்டில் கிதப்பதம்
- 12 இளைபுகிறுமென் தெ பூரில் மட-
- 13 த்தில் கிதம்பர கிளையகப்பெண்ண-
- 14 பார்க்கு உதகழுதவ தன்மதான-
- 15 ப் பட்டடயம் எழுதிக் குறித்த நில-
- 16 மாவது [1st] தெ பூரில் அஞ்சனவன்
- 17 குளத்தாடும் ஆலகத்தனிக்குழி-
- 18 பாடும். நிருண்டு செல் கிளையும்
- 19 முடல்சன் தடி கட உத[1st]ம் துறுக்-
- 20 ககன் வயல் தடி கட உத[1st]ம் கிழ[1st]
- 21 வெத்தடி தடி கட த[1st]ம் கிழ-
- 22 க்காணயகயும் தொழுவடி
- 23 உம் ஆக தடி *உ. த[1st]ம் கொல்ல-

1 Registered as No. 14 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1884 n. n.

2 திருதானி முக்குதனி.

3 திருதானிப்பதஞ்.

4 தானி மதனி காசாழி.

5 தானி முக்குதனி.

- 24 குளத்தின் கீழ் மெட்டுமடைப்பெ-
 25 ரக்கல் தண்டான்பறம்பு தடி கடி¹ உ-
 26 ள உ. தடி மெட்டுமழி ஆலங்குழி.
 27 யால் கிருண்டி செல் கிளைபுடி
 28 ஆயத்தறை வயல் தடி உ. உ. உ. ன்²டி
 29 கரஞ்சொங்குழிகில் கிழகரை-

Second face.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------|
| 30 யடி தடி கடி ³ களத- | 31 பம் ஆக தடி பம்- |
| 32 திருல் உ. ⁴ அளப | 33 க மாகவருபு. |
| 34 ஆலங்குழியில் | 35 தனிக்குழி தீர்- |
| 36 ன்மும் அஞ்சு- | 37 னவங்குளத்தி- |
| 38 ல் தனிக்குழி ஒன்- | 39 தம் ஆளபுத்- |
| 40 தனிக்குழியில் | 41 கிந்து அஞ்சை- |
| 42 வன்கொண்ட | 43 உன்னிட்ட சி- |
| 44 ன்மையார் சில- | 45 ததக்கும் தன்- |
| 46 மயத்தா சில- | 47 ததக்குக பொ- |
| 48 த்தி உன்ன தன்- | 49 னிர் பிள்ளையா- |
| 50 சக்கு ஒருக. தம் | 51 தன்மயத்தாவு- |
| 52 க்கு இருக. தம் ⁵ - | 53 க கடப்பிக்க- |
| 54 க் கொள்ளவுக | 55 கரஞ்சொட்டு |
| 56 அடி மெட்டான் | 57 தடிபுத்த பெ- |
| 58 சிலகுளத்தின்- | |

Third face.

- 59 (க)கெளகமரப் மெல்ககர்ல்-
 60 மட்டாக்கு பெய்கொட்டு பத்தில்
 61 குள்ளையர் பெர் மட ஒத்தியும்
 62 சொர ஒத்தியும் கொண்டிலம்
 63 முதல் தடிதடி கடி உளவதரிக் தடிதடி
 64 உ. உ. ன் க ள்⁶ தடிதடி கடி⁶ ருந்
 65 ி தடிதடி கடி உத-⁶ இ தடிதடி கடி உ. ன்.
 66 தெ தடிதடி கடி. உ. தெ தடி தடி கடி உ.
 67 ருந் ன ஆக தடி பனதிறல் உ உ. ப. உத.
 68 இ க்கும் ஆக உன்ன சிலங்குக்கு
 69 எல்லா இறைகளும் இதுதத இயான்.
 70 ச்ச பெய்தவாராவுக [1⁶] இப்படி
 71 தீர்த உதகஞ்ஞன் தன்மதான ப-
 72 ட்டைபயம் எழுதித் குறித்தென்
 73 சிதம்பரம் இளைவாங்குனை
 74 சிதம்பர என்னுகப்பிள்ளையா-

1 கெள திருதன்.

2 திருகலம்.

3 கெள துன்குறன்.

4 கள்ளயெ குறன்.

5 திருகெள திருதன்.

6 The symbols are not understood.

- 75 குக்கு [1^o] இப்படிக்கு சிதம்பரம்
76 இலைய கலிஞன் எழுந்த [1^o]
77 பெயெட்டுப்பந்தில் உ யுலாக
78 11^o கு இறை செல் கோ¹ உடுகய கன்னி-
79 யங்காட்டு வகையில் உ² அளப-
80 க்கு மடமம பில் கோ³ சடு ஆக வகை
81 உலுல் (இ) க-க்கு கோ⁴ உடுகயல் பிள்-
82 லாயர் புகாக்கு கோ⁵ உலு க¹ கிசெ-
83 ஷ புகாக்கு கோ⁶ மடத்த பண்டா-
84 த்துக்கு கோ⁷ உடுகய பாதெய்க்கு கோ⁸
85 உயிடு இ தன்மபத்தாவுக்கு கோ⁹ உ-
86 கணக்குப்பிள்ளைக்கு கோ¹⁰ ஆக
87 கு க-க்கு சிலவு கோ¹¹ உடுகய ஸ¹²

Fourth face.

- 88 மடத்தில் கம்முடைய
89 குருக்கள் எழுந்தருளி-
90 லுள் ஒரு காள புகா
91 சிலவு டப்பிச்சு குடு-
92 க்கவும் சிதம்பரம்
93 இலைய கலிஞன் சித்த
94 கள் ஆக மீ¹ க் சித்திராக்கு
95 பாதெய்க்குக்கு கம்மு-
96 டைய காராருக்குக் கை-
97 க்குட்டுச் சிலவுக்கு (இ)
98 கென்² க்கு உலுபாம ம-
99 கெ³ ள ஸ்லவுக் கெண்டு க-
100 டப்பிச்சு கெண்டுவார-
101 கவும் மடத்தாக்கு கெண்-
102 கெ செய்தி கம்முடைய
103 ய காரா⁴ கிகாரித்த
104 கொள்ளவும் இந்த மட-
105 த்துக்குத் தன்மத்தாக்குக்
106 ஆராமொருவர் அருந-
107 க் நினைத்திறவர் கெல்-
108 கைக் கையில காரா-
109 க்பகைய கொன்ற கெ-
110 தாஷமும் ஸ்கமுத்தி-
111 கித் தோஷமும் கை-

1 கோட்டை 331.

2 கலம் கன்னகோ பதங்கு.

3 கோட்டை 761.

4 கோட்டை 6 + 1 + 1.

5 கோட்டை 69 + 1 + 1.

6 கெய பரிசேகமன்.

7 கெய கோட்டை 71.

- 112 பம்பெராகவும் இ-
 113 கத மடத்துக்கும் தன்மத்து-
 114 க்கும் வெண்டுவது கினை-
 115 க்கிதவர் கெவகைகினை
 116 கெரடி தானம் பண்ணி-
 117 ன பரன் உண்டாகவும் [18]

Translation.

In the Kollam year 864 in which Jupiter stood in Makara, on Saturday, the 11th day of Kārttika which was the thirteenth *tithi* in the Amara-paksha, and had Svāti as the nakshatra with *sandhāgya-yāga* and *āyai-karana*—on this day the following deed of gift with libation of water was drawn up:—

The lands which I, Chidambaram-Ilayaraiyār of Kaḷḷiyāṅgaḍu (a hamlet) to the east of Vīraṅkāraṅchechēri in Kuru-nāḍu (a sub-division) of Tenṇaḍu, gave as a charitable gift with libation of water and a deed, to Chidambaram-Vīṇa-yakappillaiyār in the *maṭha* of the same village are the following:—

one *taḍi* of land (called) Modanṅaḍu, (having the sowing capacity) of two *tāni* and three *kuṇṇi* (of seed), irrigable for growing paddy under the tanks (called) Aṇṇaivāṅkuḷam and Ālāḍittanṅkuḷi;

one *taḍi* of land (called) Tulukkayyaval (having the sowing capacity) of two *tāni* and one *padakkai*;

one *taḍi* of land in the eastern portion (having the sowing capacity) of one *tāni*, one *kuṇṇi* and four *nāḷi*;

land in the eastern bund and three *taḍi* of land in Toluvāḍi in all, four *taḍi* of land (having the sowing capacity) of one *tāni* and three *kuṇṇi*;

one *taḍi* of land (called) Taḷḷāṇṇapam̃ba in the course of the eastern sluice of the Kollakuḷam (having the sowing capacity) of one *kalam* and two *tāni*;

two *taḍi* of land (called) Āyatturavayal (having the sowing capacity) of two *kalam* and irrigable for paddy from Neduṅguḷi and Ālaṅguḷi;

one *taḍi* of land at the eastern bund of Kaṇṇiraṅkuḷi (having the sowing capacity) of one *kalam*, and one *kuṇṇi*;

—thus in all, land many *taḍi* in extent and (having the sowing capacity) of eight *kalam* and one *kuṇṇi* and two separate *kuḷi* of land in Neduṅguḷi and one in Ālaṅguḷi.

Water shall be irrigated to (the lands belonging to) the Piḷḷaiyār and the *danmapattā* in the ratio of one to two, after (irrigating all) the lands belonging to the Piḷḷaiyār and the *danmapattā* lying between Ālāḍittanṅkuḷi and Aṇṇaivāṅkōṇam.

The land which was taken on permanent mortgage in the name of the *maṭha* of Piḷḷaiyār in Peykkōttuparru in the course of the western channel of the Periyakuḷam in Aḷaḡiyapāṇḍiyaparum in Nāṇṇināḍu is one *taḍi* (having the sowing capacity)

For all these lands, all taxes shall be paid and the lands shall be occupied.

Thus did I, Chidambaram-Ilayanayinar, write the deed of gift with libation of water to Chidambaram-Vinayakappillaiyar. This is the writing of Chidambaram-Ilayanayinar.

The tax on of land in Peyotuppattu is $33\frac{1}{2}$ *kottai* of paddy, and the tax on 8 *kalam* one *kugupai* of land in Kalliyangadu is 43 *kottai* of paddy; thus from $76\frac{1}{2}$ *kottai* of paddy from these two lands was to be given $6 + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{16}$ *kottai* of paddy for the worship of Pillaiyar, 3 *kottai* of paddy for special worship (to the same god), $13\frac{1}{2}$ *kottai* of paddy for the *matha*-stores, $25\frac{1}{2}$ *kottai* of paddy for mendicants (*paravittas*), 12 *kottai* of paddy to the temple trustees and 9 *kottai* for the accountant:

—in all, the expenses for one year are $69 + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{16}$ *kottai* of paddy.

If our *guru* should be pleased to visit our *matha*, the expenses for one day's worship (to him) shall be met. The expenses of 15 *kalam* required for feeding mendicants and the *ardr* of the village on the day of the Chitra-nakshatra in the month of *Adi*, the day on which Chidambaram Ilayanayinar was born, shall also be defrayed from $7\frac{1}{2}$ *kottai* of paddy provided therefor. The affairs of the *matha* shall be looked after by the *ardr* of this village.

Those that contemplate evil towards this *matha* and this charity shall incur the sin of killing a tawny cow on the banks of the Ganges and of killing a brahman. Those that do good to this *matha* and this charity shall obtain the merit of one crore of gifts bestowed on (the banks of) the Ganges.

No. 46—Two Tamil Records from Tiruppatisaram.

The subjoined two records are found in the Vishnu temple at Tiruppatisaram which is a village in the Tavalataluk of the Padmanabhapuram Division and is one of the thirteen *divyadhamas* of Vaishnava repute. Only one fragmentary record of this temple dated in Kollam 304 (= A. D. 1129) has been published hitherto. From the fact that the Vaishnava saint Nammalvar has sung about it, it can be stated that the temple must have dated from at least the end of the 8th century A. D. if not earlier, and that the god was known by the name of Tiruvaimarban then, as now.

But it may be remarked that while Nammalvar describes the god as a sitting image of Vishnu,

யருவர்த் செவ்வர்த் வண்பரிசாரத்த இருந்த என்

இருவாழ்மார்வற்கு என் திறத் தொல்வர்த் செவ்வநென்—(VIII-3-7),

Pillaiapperumal-Ayyangar (12th century A. D.) says that the image was in the recumbent posture of a *sayanamurti*.

அடிபுகுநிலிந்தர எதிருநிலிந்தரன்

மடி மென்றுன் மூச்சடக்குமுன்னே—அடிநேடிப்

பென் பரிசாரக்குப் செப்பித்த யிருவர்த்

வண்பரிசாரத் தெய்வமாற்கு—*Nurrettu-tiruppattandadi*, v. 60

The 12th century record mentioned above, refers to the god of the temple as

இருப்பரிசாரத்த விநதிருந்தருளி எம்பெருமான்

and as the present image, a *śauḍhā-mūrti*, is in the same sitting posture, we have to consider that Pillaippperumā¹ has made a mistake in his description and that the variant reading திருவள்ளிகாரம் திருத்த மரத்து is more acceptable. *Māraṇalanikāraṇi*² has one verse in praise of this image, but it does not discuss its postural detail.

It is noteworthy that while inscriptions mention Tiruppaṭisāram (the essence of sacred places) as the name, the Vaiṣṇava works invariably call it as Tiruvaṇ-parisāram.

On the east wall of the first prakāra of the Viṣṇu temple.

Text.¹

- 1 செல்லம் எஃகென னுலி ஆய்னிமரதம் உபெ உ அமரபத்திழந்து சந்த-
- 2 நியு வென்றியாடகாபு உசெ னனிபு இன்னுரை நகினர் திருவா-
ழமாப கழி.
- 3 னுக்கு ஆவனிசும் திருவெணத்திருநன் கடக்கம்பழக்கு அக்கா
தெரிசுத . . . சம்புமாரா.
- 4 ன் கமடு கணக்கித னிழா த் திருநொணத்தினு மண்டபத்தில் எழு-
த்தருளிசை சிறப்புக்கு அநு-
- 5 தபக உபக உபா பாதித்தகல் அமுதுபு திருநாழி பாதித்தக-
கும் சிறப்புக்கும் சிறப்புதக்கு தெள-
- 6 கம . . . பனிமரதம் பன்னித்தகும் வெய்யா இவையமுது யிக்கு
- 7 அனடக்காயமுது பி பாதித்தகல் சக்கரை பவம் திருமுன் கிளக்கு
இவன்கெரு வண்ண னுரை-
- 8 . . . காமம் உபொததாக்கும் இசைமணி பெர் . . . கரு உட வித்துவா-
வக
- 9 னுச(ருக)க்கு . . . திருமுன் பாதித்தகும் கிளக்கும் . . . திருச்சத்தில்
எழுந்த
- 10 குளிச்சாவு செத்தியத்தகும் வெசியமுது உட சர்க்கரை பவம் உ இவைய-
- 11 முது கெரு அனடக்காய தி சகத்துப்பக பவம் இவையுர் சகையபுர
முள-
- 12 உபாதினாக்கு அமுதுபக உட அம்புநாற்க்கண்டங் சாததனுக்கு அ-
- 13 முதுபக . . . பம் அம்பு திருப்பதிசைகக்கு அமுதுபக . . . ஆக இத்த-
பபக-
- 14 வெ டடக்குப்பக கந்திது காராயணம் குருத்த ஸாரு இ-
- 15 த பணம் ஸாத்தன்ப தம் சிபண்டாரத்தில் பந்திக்கொண்டு இ-
- 16 தப் பணத்தில் உபபவத்தக்கு ஆண்டுதொது சிபண்டாரத்தி-

1 பரிததெழுத்த பணர் முகையப் புல்கிட்ட
வாசித்தானவடகாரதம்—சேரிமுயல்
மட்டார் பொழிங் கண்பரிசார் மாதந்த ஸாட்-
பட்டாரித்தனமே பங்கு

2 Registered as No. 63 of the Trav. Epig. C-De. for 1984 A. D.

- 17 ஸ் தின்தும் கடத்திப்பொதுவாகவும் இதுவும் வெயான் க.
 18 ணக்காக தயாரித்தி ஒன் தக்கு கமக்காரம் ஒன்றாக மாதம்
 19 ஒன் தக்கு கமக்காரம் பெர் உக்கு அரிசி உக்கு ஸ் உடையும்க் கரியமு-
 து ம். உ. உ. உ.
 20 சூக இத்தப்படி கடக்கும்மாத கந்தித்த வெயான் ணக்காக பெண்
 டாரத்தில் குடுத்த
 21 ஸ் இத்தப் பணத்தினுபயத்தக்கு பெண்டாரத்தில் தின்தும் கட-
 த்திப் பொதுவா
 22 காகவும் [R*].

Translation.

On the 27th day of the month of Āvaṇi in the Kollam year 789 which was a Friday with *saptami-tithi* of the *amara-pakṣa* and *Rōhinī-nakṣatra*, Sambu-nārāyaṇa-Naiṇā gave 150 *paṇam* for the conduct of the festival on Tiruvōṇam in the Āvaṇi month to the god Tiruvālmārbaṇ with the following scale of expenditure:—

for *tiṭṭappu* expenses. (to the god) when he is pleased to be present in the *maṇḍapa* on the Tiruvōṇam day: one *padakku* and six *nāli* of rice, for *pāyasam* with milk, two *nāli* of rice, for the above and for curry two cocoanuts, for serving and for cakes one *āḷḷku* of ghee, 10 betel leaves, 5 arecanuts, 4 *palam* of sugar for *pāyasam*, one *āḷḷku* of oil for the two lights in front (of the god), 2 *paṇam* to four brahman-bearers of the image, 3 *paṇam* for paddy seed per year, 2 *paṇam* for torch and light in front of the god, 2 *nāli* for fried rice-offering on the occasion of the god's procession in the *surru-maṇḍapam*, sugar one *palam*, 10 betel leaves, 5 arecanuts, $\frac{1}{2}$ *palam* of *tiṭṭappadi*, 2 *nāli* of rice to the god. Śadaiyapuramudaiya-Nayinār, 2 *nāli* of rice to the *Sasta* of Ambanirkandam, and one *nāli* of rice to the goddess Tiruppatināṇḍai.

This amount of 150 *paṇam* was received into the temple-treasury and the above was agreed to be conducted every year.

The same individual also gave 50 *paṇam* and the *bhayaḍāra* agreed therefor to feed, at the rate of one *man* on every *dvādaśi* day, 2 brahman every month with 3 *nāli* of rice and curry for which were given respectively 7 *nāli* and 1 *uri* of paddy and 3 *nāli* and 1 *uri* of paddy.

No. 47— Tiruppatisaram record of Kollam 961.

This record which is engraved on a slab of stone built into the floor next to the entrance into the first *prākāra* of the Viṣṇu temple at Tiruppatisaram, registers the fact that the paving of the floor with stone flags was accomplished by a private individual, Kuṇḍa-chiṇṇi of the village of Piḷḷaiyārkōyil, a hamlet of Kalkulam in the Kollam year 961.

Text.¹

- 1 உகாசகிச ஐஸ்ரவணி மீ
- 2 வகஉ குருவாரும் அகபதி-
- 3 ஈட்செத்திரமும் திண்ணன்
- 4 திருப்பதிசை கோயில்
- 5 குதந்தக்கல் மண்டபம்
- 6 சன்னதிமையில கல்[ரு]-
- 7 னம் பிள்ளை பார்த்தோயில்
- 8 கிராமத்தில் குப்பான் கிடக-
- 9 கணக்கா பிட்டு இட்ட தன[ம்].
- 10 ப்பணி திருவாணிமா[ற் ப]-
- 11 ன் கவராயை சதாசெந்த[ம்] [8*]

Translation.

On the 13th day of the month of Āvaṇi in the (Kollam) year 961, which was a Thursday with nakshatra Aśvati, the work of paving the floor in front of the *ottakkal-maṇḍapa* in the temple at Tirupattināram, was the service (done) to the god Tiruvāṇimāra by Kuppān-chiṭṭi of Pīlāiyārkkōyil-grāma in Kalkulam.

No. 48—Kulitturai inscription.

This inscription is engraved on a rock in the north side of the Śiva temple at Kulitturai. It is in the Vatteluttu alphabet and the Tamil language. It is not dated in any Kollam year, but may, on palaeographical considerations, be assigned roughly to the 15th century A. D. It records an assignment of money and lands by a native of Ayiramangam for feeding brahmins.

Text.²

- 1 கர்க்கடக குயிற்ச அமரவாணி கன் காகமங்க-
- 2 ஸத்த தெவன் தெவன் மிசபரிக்கண்டமு[ம்*] னம-
- 3 ன் [து]டவனும் அரிமத்தத்த அக்கென்³ தெவன-
- 4 ல் ஒத்திகொண்டு லா. இராமன் அமுந்து செய்-
- 5 சதினனு கல்பிச்சு ஒத்தியாலை இரண்டுதும்* அ-
- 6 க்க காலெகால் கிலம் முக்குதணி அரிமன் தத்-
- 7 து கொவல் கு[ம்]நாறமெல் உரி அரி செவகின்ன அரி-
- 8 மன் தத்த பத்தாபன் திருக்கெமன் வென்டும் அ-
- 9 க்க அஞ்ச [1*] செனகுண்டே குளமெழை கவி குபாதிக்கு
- 10 புவழி
- 11 நெல் கால்குதணி பாகொட்டு கொடவாறமன் புறாப்-
- 12 படமு மகின்மெது மகின்மே கண்டத்தின் மெது[ம்*] கி-
- 13 ரிச்சிக னைக்கின்னு கண்ணை மகிட அநாழி அ-

1 Registered as No. 64 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1884 A. D.

2 Registered as No. 28 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1896 A. D.

3 Perhaps we have to read *கிச்சென்*.

4 Road துண்டாகம்.

- 14 ஈ காழி வெத்திலை அடைக்காய் அதும் மருதநைவ-
 15 னாகத்தின் மெல் எண்ணை மு[க்காழி] அரி கா[ழி] உரி
 16 குழுச் சொன்னிரத்தனா உழுதி மெல் யடக்கின் தெவர்-
 17 க்கு கிரி[க்]கிக கிளக்கின்னு கல்மெண்ணை மடை பத்திருக-
 18 ழி திரு அத்தாழ திருவரித் தின்னு கெல் [க்]வம்
 19 மருதன் கொட்டு சாவநா உழுதிமெல் புவழி கெவர்க்கு கெல்
 20 [க்]ழி புதுமனைப் பதாபுடத்தின் மெல் திங்கன வரம் அ-
 21 மபலத்தில் அத்தினிளக்கின் னும் கெல் காழி உரி கடந்தரங்கொ-
 22 ட்டுன்மெல் கிள[நா]யில் கித[] வித்து கடையயால் கெல் கவம்
 23 பாறனுரவான் பதக்கின[டத்து] கழு[ந்]கொக்[கொ]ட்டன் மெலு-
 24 ட் தெக்கின் தெவர்க்கு கத்தரகிளக்கிமர் கெல் [க்]ழி
 25 செருப்பாத்தபநா மெல் பத்தருபன் குட்டன்
 26 வெண்ணு[க்] அச்ச
 27 உஉஉஉ

Translation.

On the day of the new-moon in the month of Karkataka, Vikkiranman-
 Devan of Ayiramayram, having obtained on mortgage the fields Palaiyarikkapdam
 and Umanudaval belonging to Devan-Devan of Nagamaṅgalam, ordered the feed-
 ing of 12 brahmins and assigned 4½ *accheḷu* and 3 *kurupai* of land (incorrect for
 paddy) due on (his) two mortgage deeds. Padmanābhay-Tiruvikkiraman of Ayira-
 mayram received five *accheḷu* from (the yield of) Kuṇṇayimuri of Kāṭavan of Ayi-
 ramayram for (providing one) *uri* of rice.

Four *kurupai* of paddy at each harvest from the land under the tank of Śeṇu-
 kuṇḍar, the yield from the *puraiyidam* of Kodavayimay in Pakōḍu as well as
 from the lands to the west and east of the same are for (the expenses of) six *nāḷi*
 of oil (as measured) by the *maḍai* for Vriśchika lamps, (one) *nāḷi* of rice, betel
 leaves, areca-nuts and chunars:

three *nāḷi* of oil and (one) *nāḷi* and (one) *uri* of rice from (the field called)
 Marudagai-viḷḷayam: 12 *nāḷi* of gingelly oil (as measured) by the *maḍai* from the
 field of Koppirattagai in Sūḷār are for Vriśchika lamps in the northern shrine;

one *kalam* of paddy (from the same) is for the sacred night meal;

(one) *nāḷi* of paddy at each harvest from the field of Kājaraṅ in Marudai-
 kōḍu (is) for the (same) god;

(one) *nāḷi* and (one) *uri* of ghee from the Puḍumayappurayidam is for
 the twilight lamp to be lit on each Monday in the temple;

and (one) *kalam* of paddy given as assessment in kind from
 . . . of Kaṇḍāṇkōḍu (is also for the same item).

Pattanābhay-Kuṭṭan of Śeruppādiyarai received 225 *accheḷu* from (the in-
 come of) Kamugaraikkōḍu on the southern side, in order to supply (one) *nāḷi* of
 ghee for burning (one) perpetual lamp in the southern shrine as ordered by the
 people of Pārāṇr.

1 *u* looks like *u*.

2 There is some mistake committed in engraving what looks like *u*.

3 This may also be read as *u* but *u* is the correct reading.

No. 49—Three Chera Coins.

In the Report of the Travancore Archaeological Department for 1920-21, Mr. K. V. Subramanya Ayyar, the Superintendent, has the following note on three copper coins unearthed recently in a village in the Travancore State.—

“Mr. Abraham, Vakil, and Mr. Vurghese, Teacher, brought to me three old copper coins for examination. The coins belong to a heap found deposited in a mud-pot kept underground at Parur near Alangul. The pot was unearthed, I am told, by a farmer, while digging a field. The coins appear to be very old. They bear no legends. While two of them are almost semi-circular, the third is slightly square in shape. The obverse has a standing figure of a tusker facing the right; and a staff tipped with a trident is placed in front of it. The reverse of all the coins bears a lamp-stand or a goad and arrow strung to a bow, the top string of the latter being very visible.”

These coins were taken up by me for closer study and my observations on them are noted below so as to help further examination, if other specimens of the same type should become available on some future occasion.

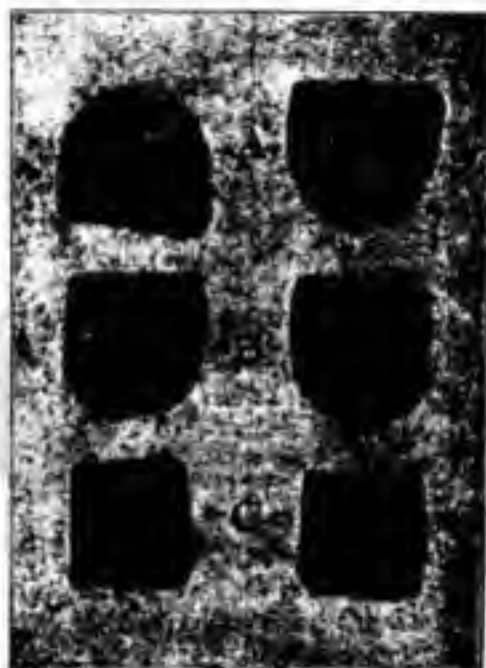
All the three specimens are double-die coins but owing perhaps to the carelessness of the man employed with the punches, the coins do not unfortunately bear the full impress of the dies. The square coin is slightly thicker than the two semi-circular ones. One of the semi-circular type (shown as A) and the square coin (shown as C) have on their obverse a well-executed figure of a standing elephant facing the right and represented in its natural purity of outline, unhampered by any ornamental trappings. In front of it, is placed a flag-staff from the top of which a standard (*dhvaja*) is hanging down with a curling fold at its extremity. In the plain field above the elephant device, the following symbols are figured from left to right:—

- (1) a symbol which consisting of a central dot, surrounded by a circle of eight depressions contiguously arranged, may, as in other instances, be taken to represent an expanded lotus;
- (2) a *Svastika* symbol;
- (3) a device similar to that figured on a coin of Janapadaśa (No. II of Plate IV of Rapson's *Coins*), the significance of which has not been explained by that author, but which may be taken to stand for a *rajra*, a *linga* on its pedestal, or better still, a small lighted lamp;
- (4) the Crescent, and
- (5) the Sun.

On the reverse are found:—

- (1) an *añkita* or elephant goad in the form of a spear of short haft and hooked end;
- (2) a bow of the five bends type with a metal-tipped arrow strung into position on the bow-string, which is represented as fluttering forward in two spiral strands from the top notch of the bow;
- (3) a *bhadraghaṭa* or a *pūrṇakumbha* and
- (4) an obliterated figure which has a resemblance to the Buddhist *triratna* symbol.

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1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 26

A. S. Kacimurda, Deputy

The other coin shown as B on the plate has only the elephant and the flag on its obverse and the absence of the other five symbols, which may either have become defaced or been omitted, would perhaps suggest that this specimen belonged to an earlier type than its companion A.

Presumably owing to its association with royalty and to its forming an important component of the four-fold army of ancient India, the elephant was adopted by more than one dynasty of kings as its numismatic device and we therefore find this royal quadruped represented on the early punch coins,¹ on the coins of the Āndhra,² the Yādava,³ and the Kōṭiga⁴ dynasties, on the coins and copper-plate seals of the Gaṅgā,⁵ and Vijayanagara kings⁶, on the Mysore issues—both Indian⁷ and Muhammadan,⁸ and on the coins of the Western Punjab and the Kabul valley⁹. The Chēras in particular, had a special partiality for this lord of their own forests, at once the source of their strength and wealth, and this is evidenced by the adoption by some of the kings of this dynasty of certain distinguishing epithets connected with this quadruped. The bow and arrow was also their special device and they were called in consequence the *villavar*. The presence therefore of the elephant on the obverse and the bow and arrow on the reverse distinctly suggests that the coins under review must be of Chēra origin and, according to Rapson,¹⁰ of a period anterior to 1000 A. D; but in the absence of any elucidatory legends on the coins themselves, their age cannot be fixed with any tolerable accuracy, unless helped by further data from future finds. The general appearance and style of the coins would, however, suggest their being dated one or two centuries earlier than the later limit noted above, and may have been the forerunners of the coins mentioned in para 5 below.

The symbols figured on the coins deserve some notice. The elephant (an emblem of royalty), the lotus¹⁰ (the Indian traditional symbol of mysterious birth) and the *vasatka*¹¹ (the philosophical symbol of evolution) are among the eight objects of auspiciousness¹². The crescent and the sun are generally figured on the tops of copper-plate and lithic inscriptions as emblems of permanence and are cited as eternal witnesses of mundane affairs in the expressions '*achandrarckam*' and '*chandra-ditya-ullavara*'. Their introduction on Chera coins has perhaps the

- 1 Nos. 4 and 6 on Plate I of Elliot's *Coins of Southern India*.
- 2 No. 48 on Plate II, *Ibid*.
- 3 No. 92 on Plate III; *Ibid*
- 4 Nos. 119 and 119, *Ibid*.
- 5 *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XX. p. 504.
- 6 No. 117 on Plate III, of *E. C. & I.*
- 7 Henderson's *Coins of Hindia and Tippe*.
- 8 Nos. 1 and 2 on Plate III, of Raper's *Coins of Southern India*.
- 9 Raper's p. 36.
- 10 *A Guide to Sanchi*, page 41.
- 11 Havell's *Architecture of India*, page 17.
- 12 There are different lists, but the following verse is from the *Neelakantamahatmya*.

பாரதொலியியலும் கம்பம்பொத் தன்மைப் பதாமை தோட்டி
கிரிநிருஞ் செயுது சொம்பத் தீர்த்து வென்றாக லும்புத்
காதவென்றிதையச் சூத்த ளிரிகொண்டு தொத்தபோதம்
பொருத் த பொத்தொபெருந்தத புணர்வல் பொத்தனத்தே— அந்நியபுலகமொன்றி. v. 137.

additional significance, if such was intended, of suggesting the Chēra's descent from the Chandradityakula,¹ the luni-solar race. The *arikaṣa*² (Tamil-*iṭṭi*) 'a sign of authority and of selective discrimination' occurs in company with the other items of royal paraphernalia such as a pair of chowries and a state-umbrella in the seals of many copper-plate grants. The *pūṇakumbha* or the *amṛitakalāṣa*, a vessel of consecrated water with a bunch of green mango leaves inserted into its mouth, is one of the auspicious signs of plenty and prosperity and is generally found flanked by a pair of lighted lamps. It occurs in this combination in the seal of the Koṭṭūr plate³ of the Gaṅga king Mārasimha.

We know that a coin called the '*āṇai-aṇṇu*' which, as its name implies, was a die-struck coin stamped with an elephant's figure,⁴ was current both in the Koṅṅu-maṇḍalam⁵ and in the West Coast in the 12th and 13th centuries; but there is reason to believe that it must have been of a far higher denomination than the small copper coins under reference and that it must have been also of more precious metal than copper. It is also understood that it superseded another coin called the '*īriyakkī-aṇṇu*' of an older system of currency, which had the figure of a *yakṣī* embossed on it and whose design was perhaps influenced by Ceylon issues. *Uṇḍi-aṇṇu* and *amudaṇ-aṇṇu* were two other coins current at that time; but their relative values are not ascertainable, except that the later was a golden coin and that 53 of the former was the annual interest on 707 *āṇai-aṇṇu*, but as the rate of interest per cent has not been mentioned, it is not possible to ascertain their relative values.

No. 50.—Copper-plate record of Kollam 925.

The subjoined copper-plate record is kept in the Palace Chellamvagai at Trivandrum and purports to be the deed relating to the sale of some lands in Puliyaṇturuttu by Kumaraṇ-Śrīkanṭhan Tirumalpād of Maṇṇāḍu to Davidakkēl Parādēsi. In another copy of the same document written on cadjan in the Malayalam characters and found among the *ślāi* bundles in the same place, the purchaser is stated to have been a resident of Cochin (*koṇṇiṭṭi-kuḍi-īrikkam*). In either case, it is not known why the document should have found its way into the Palace records, and to what nationality the purchaser belonged. Davidā may be phonetically equivalent perhaps to David.

The language and script of the record are Malayalam; and it is noticeable that the verbs have not discarded their personal suffixes as in modern Malayalam; cf. *koṇḍāṇ* in l. 8.

1 *Madras Epig. Report for 1910*, page 52.

2 *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, page 294.

3 Plate X of the *Mysore Archaeological Report for 1921*.

4 Cf. the *āṇai-paiṣa* of Mysore-Elliot's *Coins*, page 105.

5 *Madras Epigraphical Reports for 1912 and 1916 and Trav. Arch. Series, Part I, Vol. III*.

Text.

First side.

- 1 കൊല്ലം ന്വയതി-2ത ചിങ്ങത്തറയിൽ പുത്തൂരിൽ അട്ടിപ്പുറമ്പക്കര-
 അമ്പിത (1^o) 2^o 3^o അട്ടിപ്പുറമ്പക്കര ചിങ്ങത്തറയിൽ തിരുമുൽപാതിൽ
 കെ-
- 2 വാൽ കരയെക്കൊണ്ടു ചെമ്പുതൂണിൽ എഴുന്നള്ളി അഴിഞ്ഞ-
 തൊട്ടിന്നും തുടർച്ചയായിട്ടും പട്ടി.

Second side.

- 3 അട്ടിപ്പുറമ്പക്കരയെക്കൊണ്ടു ചെമ്പുതൂണിൽ എഴുന്നള്ളി അഴിഞ്ഞ-
 തൊട്ടിന്നും തുടർച്ചയായിട്ടും പട്ടി.
- 4 കൊല്ലം തുറന്നുവെക്കുകയെന്നു അട്ടിപ്പുറമ്പക്കര വാങ്ങിക്കൊണ്ടു
 അട്ടിപ്പുറമ്പക്കര എഴുന്നള്ളിക്കൊണ്ടു കെ-
- 5 വാങ്ങിക്കൊണ്ടു അട്ടിപ്പുറമ്പക്കര കൊല്ലം കാലിയെക്കൊണ്ടു ചെമ്പുതൂണിൽ
 എഴുന്നള്ളി അഴിഞ്ഞ-
- 6 കൊല്ലം അട്ടിപ്പുറമ്പക്കര തുടർച്ചയായിട്ടും ചെമ്പുതൂണിൽ എഴുന്നള്ളി അഴിഞ്ഞ-
 തൊട്ടിന്നും തുടർച്ചയായിട്ടും പട്ടി.
- 7 കൊല്ലം അട്ടിപ്പുറമ്പക്കര തുടർച്ചയായിട്ടും ചെമ്പുതൂണിൽ എഴുന്നള്ളി അഴിഞ്ഞ-
 തൊട്ടിന്നും തുടർച്ചയായിട്ടും പട്ടി.
- 8 കൊല്ലം അട്ടിപ്പുറമ്പക്കര എഴുന്നള്ളിക്കൊണ്ടു കൊല്ലം കാലിയെക്കൊണ്ടു ചെമ്പുതൂണിൽ
 എഴുന്നള്ളി അഴിഞ്ഞ-
- 9 കൊല്ലം അട്ടിപ്പുറമ്പക്കര എഴുന്നള്ളിക്കൊണ്ടു കൊല്ലം കാലിയെക്കൊണ്ടു ചെമ്പുതൂണിൽ
 എഴുന്നള്ളി അഴിഞ്ഞ-
- 10 കൊല്ലം അട്ടിപ്പുറമ്പക്കര എഴുന്നള്ളിക്കൊണ്ടു കൊല്ലം കാലിയെക്കൊണ്ടു ചെമ്പുതൂണിൽ
 എഴുന്നള്ളി അഴിഞ്ഞ-
- 11 കൊല്ലം അട്ടിപ്പുറമ്പക്കര എഴുന്നള്ളിക്കൊണ്ടു കൊല്ലം കാലിയെക്കൊണ്ടു ചെമ്പുതൂണിൽ
 എഴുന്നള്ളി അഴിഞ്ഞ-

First side (contd.).

- 12 ഈ അട്ടിപ്പുറമ്പക്കര വാങ്ങിക്കൊണ്ടു അട്ടിപ്പുറമ്പക്കര എഴുന്നള്ളിക്കൊണ്ടു
 കൊല്ലം കാലിയെക്കൊണ്ടു ചെമ്പുതൂണിൽ എഴുന്നള്ളി അഴിഞ്ഞ-
- 13 ഈ അട്ടിപ്പുറമ്പക്കര വാങ്ങിക്കൊണ്ടു അട്ടിപ്പുറമ്പക്കര എഴുന്നള്ളിക്കൊണ്ടു
 കൊല്ലം കാലിയെക്കൊണ്ടു ചെമ്പുതൂണിൽ എഴുന്നള്ളി അഴിഞ്ഞ-

മുറ മുര മുരപ്പമ്പു നെല്ലു നീര നി-

- 14 ധി മൻപെട്ടം കാട്ടം മീൻപെട്ടം ഇറയു തെൻപെട്ടം ചൊലയു ആറു
പെരകം വഴിയു നീർപെട്ടം കാട്ടം
- 15 അതിരും വരമ്പും ആറുവർഷം അറ തറ കിണറുകാല പാതാളവും
ഇന്നുവരികത്തകപ്പെട്ട തെല്ലെപ്പട്ടമും
- 16 കൂടി അട്ടിപ്പെറാകെ ഏഴുതിട്ട കൊണ്ടാൻ രാവിതളമെൽപരമെരി*) [B*]
ഇപ്പരിചെ ഏഴുതിടക്ക-
- 17 അമെയിടക്ക ഇത കാവുകെൽ പറമ്പത്ത ഉണ്ണി ചിത്തകണ്ടൻ കയ്യു-
ത്ത [B*]

Translation.

This is the title-deed given with libation of water in the Simha month of the Kollam year 925.

For the lands in Puliyantarutta within the four boundaries:— to the west of the garden below the Elanji and Turutturapalli, to the south of the northern channel, to the east of the western channel and to the north of the garden of Sattodu—which were under the management of Kumara-Sirikaṭṭan Turumūpaḍ of Maṇṇadu, the purchase money was received and the lands were given as *attippera* (with libation of water).

Thus for these lands in Puliyantarutta within the four boundaries— to the west of the garden behind Elanji and Turutturapalli, to the south of the northern channel, to the east of the western channel and to the north of the garden in Sattodu—the purchase money was paid by and the title-deed was drawn up for Davida-ikkal-paradeśi. In this manner, the stones, crags, stumps of nux-vomica trees, thistles, waste lands, paddy, water (-sources), treasure-trove, woodlands haunted by deer, water patches infested with fish, gardens abundant with honey, footpaths, channel-beds, river deposits, boundary limits and ridges, buildings, field sites, wells, and all that exist above and below the ground surface: for all these items within the four boundaries, the purchase money was received and the freehold title-deed was drawn up and given.

In this manner for the stones, crags, stumps of nux-vomica trees, thistles, waste lands, paddy, water (-sources), treasure-trove, woodlands haunted by deer, water patches infested with fish, gardens abundant with honey, footpaths, channel-beds, boundary limits and field-ridges, river deposits, buildings, wells and all that exist above and below the ground surface within these four boundaries, the title-deed was drawn up and obtained by Davida-ikkal-paradeśi.

This is the signature of Uṇṇi-Sirikaṭṭan of Kāvūṅgal-parambu (as witness) for writing this deed in this manner.

No. 51—Ilamba record of Vira Marttanda Ravivarman: Kollam 781.

The subjoined record which is engraved on the west base of the *mandapa* in front of the Śiva temple at Ilamba is in the Malayalam script and language. It is dated in the Kollam year 781 in the reign of the king Vira Marttanda Ravivarman Tiruvadi, and relates to the construction of certain additional buildings to the new temple at Ilamba.

Text.

- 1 ഇളഞ്ചെ പൂതിയകൊയടുകൾ ശ്രീവിഭക്തരാണ്
- 2 ഇരവിവർ തിരുവടിക്കരമന്ത കൊതിക-
- 3 തിരുമുൾ ചെയ്തിട്ടു തിരുപ്പണി നവയഥ മാണ്
- 4 ഇടവരാനത്തിൽ തുടങ്ങി തളവും ചുവരും മ-
- 5 ഞപമു പണികൊണ്ടിട്ടു [ച]യന്ത മാണ് കലശ്ശ[11].

Translation.

The works which were added to the new temple at Ilamba by the officers of the king Śri Viramarttanda Ravivarman Tiruvadi in charge of the temple, namely, the paving, walls and the *mandapa* which were commenced in the Rishabha month of the (Kollam) year 781, were completed and the consecration ceremony was in the year [78]3.

No. 52—Other pillar labels in the same temple.

The four inscriptions noted below are engraved on the pillars in the *nāḷambalam* of the Śiva temple in the same village of Ilamba; and though they are not important mentioning, as they do, the names of the donors of the particular pillars, they have been published here with a view to bring together all readable records, both ancient and modern. The alphabet of the inscriptions is Mahavaham in the first three instances and Tamil in the case of the fourth.

A.

- 1 വരിശ്ശേവ-
- 2 വി ഇരവിവർ
- 3 ചിത്തു ചെയ
- 4 ചിറ്റു തുണ്

B.

- 1 നാണി
- 2 കൊടിയര
- 3 ചെട്ടി
- 4 ജു മെട-
- 5 ചിറ്റു തുണ്

1 Registered as Nov. 123 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1896 n. r.

A, B, C, D.—Registered as Nov. 124 to 127 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1896 n. r.

C.	D.
1 നവരക-	1 മുതലാളി
2 ഇതു ചരി-	2 മുതലാളി
3 കുമാരൻ കൊ-	3 കുമാരൻ
4 ചവൻ കൊ-	4 കുമാരൻ
5 യിട്ടു തുണ	5 പ. പെരുമാൾ
	6. അ. തുണ

No. 53—Suchindrum Plate of Kollam 821.

The subjoined inscription is engraved in Tamil characters on both sides of a single sheet of copper-plate, measuring $12\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ ", which had owing to its thinness got broken at a third of its length and has now been joined together by small rivets. The original is understood to be in the possession of a private individual at Suchindram employed as a temple official; but the record is edited here from an ink-impression of it preserved in this office.

It is dated in both the Saka and Kollam eras and as the Kollam year is clearly indicated as 621 which corresponded to the cyclic year Raktāksha (given incorrectly in the record as *Raktācha*), the Saka equivalent ought to have been 1367, which is wrongly entered as 137. The engraving is slovenly and the alphabet appears to be somewhat later than the first half of the 15th century A. D. The astronomical details give the English date A. D. 1444, October 3; but the week-day was Saturday and not Monday as noted in the record.

Among the orthographic peculiarities may be mentioned the incorrect use of *r* in places requiring only its softer equivalent, the transformation of Sanskrit words into vulgar Tamil forms such as *āchandira* for *āchandra*, *Raktācha* for *Raktāksha*, *deṭṭaṇṭayina* for *deṭṭaṇṭayana* etc. In the last two lines at the end of the plate the '*eṭṭu*' has been written in a degenerated Vaṭṭeṭṭu script, which was apparently the futile attempt of the engraver who was not conversant with that alphabet. The repetition of that word seven times probably shows that there were seven *sthānattārs* to the temple, whose individual signatures the several *eṭṭu* were intended to represent.

The object of the record was to register the fact that certain *yōgippara-dēsis* or religious mendicants were appointed to the office of *āṇavāḍi* of the temple at Suchindram. '*Āṇavāḍi*' (or *āṇavāḍi*, *āṇavāḍi* as noted in this record) is the name now given to brahman managers of temples. The personal attendants of the Rajas

1. This word occurs in a record of 15th century in the name of a subordinate official. It has probably to be derived from *āṇa* (skt. *āṇa*). *Āṇa* and *āṇa* (skt. *āṇa*) occur in Uru Office plates of Karumādāṭṭan. *Āṇavāḍi* is divisible into *āṇa*+*vāḍi* and may be analogous to the suffix in *vāḍi* and *vāḍi* of records. *Āṇavāḍi* occurs in Telugu records, where it means 'evidence or credentials'.

who are generally of the brahman caste are also called *āṇavāḷ*—*āṇattu-āṇavāḷ* and *puṇattu-āṇavāḷ* according to the place of their service, in the king's antechamber or outside. In the present record, the *yōṭṭipparadī*s who were apparently Śūdras appear to have been entrusted with specific duties such as the conduct of certain temple festivals from some revenue collected on the temple lands. The introduction of some slightly supernatural element in the document, namely that the orders emanated from the god Suchindramudaiya-Nayinār and Ten-Tiravēṇṇaḍa-Emberruṇār:—

‘சசித்திரமுடைய கயிலார் இருமுகவடிவில் அனுக்கிரகமானகாஸத்து’
and ‘பதிப்பிச்சக் குறிக்கும்படிக்கு தென்திருவேங்கடகடகின்னவர் எம்பெருமான்
அனுக்கிரகமானபடிக்கு’—

as well as the more modern appearance of the letters tempt one to question the correctness of the alleged age of the plate. No king's name is mentioned in the record. This record is not found copied on the rock in the temple.

Text.¹

First side.

- 1 சகாத்தம் [௩௬௪] [௬௫]௭ ன் மெய்க் கெல்லாவின்ற தனுள்பாழம் மிதி
ஊச்சலி கொல்லும் உய[௨]கே னுந் [௩௩] சிப்ச னுந் தெட்டா.
- 2 னுவினமான அன்பு [௩] சிப்ச செவ்வாரமும் புனர்ப்புசாட்செத்திரமும்
திதி பூறுப்பட்சத்து சத்தியபும் சித்திரித்திய நாமபொகமும் ஆ.
- 3 னகாணமு[௩] பெற்ற அன் து பகல் செ காளிகையில் தனுராநி கொ
த்தில் கயிலார் சசித்திரமுடைய கயிலார் ஆட்செத்திரகால்.
- 4 மும் ஆன்செவ்வாரமெப்பாத்தென்கன் பெர் உகே. ம் ஆன்வாணாகக்
கண்டகொள்ளுமபடிக்கு கயிலார் சசித்திரமுடைய கயிலார் திரு.
- 5 மூல்வெடியில் அனுக்கிரகமான தாஸத்தினாகத் அடிமைகள் பொசிப்பா
தென்களென்று செம்பிறுது சிலவிறுத் திருவருவிறும்.
- 6 காணுப்படிக்கு ஆட்செத்திரகாலமும் கைக்கொண்டு கயிலார் சசித்திரமு
டைய கயிலார் கொலிறுக்கு கயிலார் தெர்மசமிட்டு.
- 7 உன்னதுத் கெல்லாந் கெழ்ந்தி மரச்சிபையுமாக அன் பணமும் பிரி
ப்பிச்சக் கயிலாடைய அடிவெந்தாமெல்லாம் உடத்தும்.

Second side.

- 8 படிக்கு இருவாரமும் அடக்கன் காரணம் லெம் உகே ன்படிக்கு உக.
கொட்டை இருபத்துமுதுந் ஆட்டகிசெவ்வாக கிசெ.
- 9 னத்தில்த் தானத்துக்கு அக்க படித்தாமும் மெய்மெலும் அடிவெந்தி
ரம் பெசெல் காரணம் அதிலும் பதிப்பிச்சக் குறிக்கும்படிக்கு
- 10 தென்திருவேங்கடகடகின்னவர் எம்பெருமான் அனுக்கிரகமானபடிக்கு கயி
லார் சசித்திரமுடைய கயிலார் கொலிறுக்கு
- 11 பொசிப்பாத்தென்கன் பெர் உகே. ம் ஆச்செத்திரகாலமும் ஆன்வாழாக
கடக்குமபடிக்கு செம்பிறுது சிலவிறும் வெட்டா.

1 Registered as No. 13 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1898 n. c.

2 The work-day is found to be Saturday and not Monday in the Epigraphs.

- 12 பிச்சைக் குடுத்தொம் கவிஞர் செத்தொழுமடய கவிஞர் செவிதுக் குத்த
தானத்தாரகம் அஃது
13 எழுத்த எழுத்த எழுத்த அஃது எழுத்த எழுத்த
14 செ. கணக்கு தன்னுமையப்பெருமான் திருவெங்கடம் எழுத்த [11*]

Translation.

On the 5th day of the month of Alpasi of Raktāsha (Rartitcha) corresponding to the Kollam year 621 which was current after Śaka 13[6*]7 had expired and in which year Jupiter was in Dhanu and Saturn in Mithuna—on this day, which was a Monday with the saptami-tithi of the first fortnight, nakshatra Punarpūṣam, siddhinityanāma-yōgam and ānaikkaraṇam, at 14-nāligai midnoon at the time of Dhanu-rāsi:—

the god SuchIndramudaiya-Nayinār having been pleased, at the foot of the sacred bamboo (*tirumūngil*), to order the appointment of the twenty-three *Āṭkonḍa-yōgipparadēsiyai* as *āṇaiṇāḷ* (of the temple) so long as the moon endures, it was accepted to last as long as the moon and this fact was made public (by being engraved) on copper, stone, and on the sacred rock.

Having collected 1000 *paṇam* by *kēḷai* and *āchchigai* on all lands belonging to the temple of SuchIndramudaiya-Nayinār, and Teṇ-tiruvēṅgaḍa-vinnavar Embērumān also having been pleased to order that the *kāṛāymai* on certain lands which was 23 *kōḷḷai* of 21 (*marakkāl*) was to be utilised for the festivals, the *kāṛāymai* being increased proportionately to the expenditure of the festivals, we, the selected *tāṇattār* of the temple of Nayinār SuchIndramudaiya-Nayinār had the fact engraved on copper and stone, that the 23 *yōgipparadēsi* were appointed as the *āṇaiṇāḷ* of the temple as long as the moon.

These are our signatures. This is the writing of the accountant Tāpumaḷiyaperumāḷ Tiruvēṅgaḍam.

No. 54—Inscription of Parthivapuram.

The subjoined inscription in Vaṭṭeluttu is engraved on the base of the *sūru-maṇḍapa* (outside) at the proper left of the entrance into the Vishṇu temple at Parthivapuram. It is incomplete and seems to register gift of land for maintaining Vriśchika lamps in the temple, ordered to be put up by Kāman-Taḍakkaṇ, a native of Kuṇṇattūr. The temple at Parthivavāṣekharapuram was, as we know, constructed by Karunandadakkaṇ, an Āy chief ruling over the eastern hilly region of the Travancore State. It is noteworthy that the donor in the present record is named Taḍakkaṇ and not as Adakkaṇ. It cannot be stated whether this individual who made a gift of lands to the temple at Parthivavāṣekharapuram, was himself in any way connected with the Āy family.

1 The words *āṇaiṇāḷ* which are repeated five times in this line are in the Vaṭṭeluttu script.

2 Trav. Arch. Series, Vol. I, p. 7.

Text.¹

- 1 ஸ்ரீ [1^a] இடபத்தில் விபாழ சிவா யாண்டு குந்தத்துர் காமத் த
டக்கன் பார்த்திவசெகாபுரத்து தெயர்க்கு
2 அட்டிய மிருச்சிப² வினக்குக்கு எருக்கி[3a] மன்னென்ற தெரட்டமும்
புருவரை தடிசாண்டும் உதிகாசம்மங்க்காட்டும் குங்குடிப்பழ³

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the year in which Jupiter stood in Rishabha, Kāmap-
Tadakkan of Kuṇṇattūr (ordered to be) put up (in the temple) of Pārthivaśekhara-
purattu-dēva, *viśākhā* lamps; and for (them) the garden called Erukkilaiman
together with two *taḍi* of Puṇṇavarai as well as Udikkālmankōḍu

Tirukkadittanam Records.

Tirukkadittanam which is one of the thirteen *divyadēvams* sacred to Viṣṇu in Malai-maṇḍalam, is a village two miles to the east of Chengamcheri, a taluk-station of the Travancore State. The god of the temple has been glorified in a hymn of Nammāḷvār, who has also commemorated the adjacent Viṣṇu temples of Tiruvalla, Tiruvānvaṇṇūr, etc. The *Māraṇalankāram*⁴ of Tirukkurukaiṇṇirāṇ and the *Nārreṭṭu-tiruppaṇ-antidi* of Pillaipertumāl Ayyangār have also one verse each in praise of this place. The temple which dates itself epigraphically from the time of the Chēra king Bhāskari-Ravivarman i. e. from the closing years of the 10th century, must have existed, though not necessarily in its present form, much earlier from the beginning of the 9th century at least, as it was visited by Nammāḷvār. The village has been described in the *Tiruvāḍimōḷi* as surrounded by brahman habitations resounding with the hum of the Vedic chants, but there are no other details in that decade of verses which are of historical value. It is worth noting that, while all these authorities call the village by the name of

1 Registered as No. 78 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1887 n. e.

2 Read கிருச்சிப.

3 The inscription is incomplete.

4 மண்டலம்தாள் மழதததத தாள் பெருந்தாழ்
கண்டாசீ குதித்தொப்பெக்கு—கண்ட
மருத்தெ பெருப் புத்ததாள் கடித்தாத்தா
விருத்தெ திரத்தெத்தா—
—*Māraṇalankāram*, v. 525.

5 காவகிரும்பெருக்கண்—காவதொழுகிரும்பும்
பூவகிரும்பெருக்கண் புத்ததாள்—காவ
திருத்தெத்தாத்தாந்திரியாத்தாண்டாள்
திருத்தெத்தாத்தாந்திரியாத்தாண்டாள்.
—*Nārreṭṭu-tiruppaṇ-antidi*, v. 72.

Tirukkāḍittānam, the *Kēraḷolppatti* and the *Uṇṇūḷisandānam*¹ give it the denomination of Trikkōḍittānam.

Several records of the temple belong to the reign of Bhāskara-Ravivarman, the last of the line of Chēra kings who wielded suzerain authority over the petty chieftancies of Malai-maṇḍalam and four of them have been published in Volume II of the *Travancore Archæological Series*². But three of these have had to be re-edited now, as they have not been given in full in that volume and only their first lines have been published.

No. 55—Tirukkāḍittānam record of Ravi-Rama.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the walls of the central shrine at Tirukkāḍittānam and is dated in the year opposite the second year of king Ravi-Rāman. It is in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu alphabet of about the time of the Chēra king Bhāskara-Ravivarman and is in the Tamil language which is but sparingly adulterated by an admixture of the usual Malayalam forms of words, the few instances occurring in it being—*vāḷayya*, *vāḷunna*, *irunna*, *amaichcha*, *ammiṇṇa*, *olīṇṇa*, *pāḍu-tāṇṇuvidu*, *kaḷaṇṇu*, *nikkinnam*, *eḷudichchidu*, *viṇṇichchu*, which are used for the correcter Tamil words *vāḷuḷayya*, *vāḷunda*, *irunda*, *amaitta*, *amainda*, *olinda*, *pāḍu-tāṇṇuvadu*, *kaḷaṇṇu*, *nikkigum*, *eḷudittadu* and *viṇṇittu*. It may be noticed that almost all of them are instances of surds changed into nasal equivalents, which was a common device used in the evolution of the Malayalam dialect. Grantha letters have been used only in a few cases: *ṛavī* *ari* at the beginning and the end of the inscription, *bhai* in *sabbai*, *ia* in *deṣakālam* in (l. 2) and *ṣabda* in *pañchama-ṣabdam* (l. 2).

Nīrāṭṭupalli is the god's bath, *palli* being (according to Gundert) an honorific suffix to *nīrāṭṭu*=bath, when referring to the sacred bath of the god or of the king. *Nīrāṭṭupalli* might also mean the *abhisheka-maṇḍapa* (*palli* signifying a room), but the use of the word in the present record and in other inscriptions makes the former meaning more appropriate. Provision was made in this temple for the sounding of the *pañchamaṣṭaṣṭa* at the time of the god's bath, akin to a similar provision made in the Tiruvalla plates,³ where the five musical instruments, *ṣeṇḍai*, *ṣūṣai*, *ṣeṇḍai*, *kaṭṭāḷam* and *kāḷam* have been mentioned. The Huzur office plates of Karunandaḍakkāṣ, however give another list of five instruments: *tuttiḷi*, *maddali*, *karaiṇṇai*, *tāḷam* and *kāḷam*.

Koṭṭādu-puḷḷippaḍḍi is an expression which may be taken to mean here 'if the sounding is rendered nought', *puḷḷi* being a cipher in arithmetic. Or it may also suggest that a mark was entered in the temple register against the names of the defaulters (*puḷḷi*=a mark, an entry) for the purpose of levying appropriate

1 ഉത്തരവു ചെങ്കുണ്ടിയിലെവർത്തമാനം: തിരുക്കോട്ടത്തറയിലെ
തറവാട്ടിലെവർത്തമാനം ചെങ്കുണ്ടിയിലെവർത്തമാനം

= *Uṇṇūḷisandānam*, x. 126.

2 T. A. S., Vol. II pp. 33, 36, 40 and 41.

finer from them; and *pullippattavar* and *pullippatta-nel* (l. 2) will then mean, 'those against whom entries (of absence) had been made' and 'the paddy payable according to the default-entries'.

Pattāyam is a corn-chest. Gundert gives the meaning 'a large chest to keep rice', while Winslow also explains it similarly; but both seem however to suggest that the wording is of Portuguese origin. The use of the word in the present early record shows that it is an indigenous word. *Pattāyappura* and *pattāyakkeṭṭu* also mean the place where the corn-bins are kept standing. In the present record, a wooden granary which was the property of the temple and which had been kept at the disposal of the drummers for storing their grain was ordered to be got back from them in case they proved to be defaulters.

The title of *Nāyar*, the honorific plural of the word *Nāyan* (Skt. *nāyaka*) has been used here to denote the ruler of the district—*nāḍuvāḍṇa-nāyar* (l. 3).

The object of the inscription is to record the arrangements made for the sounding of the five great sounds (*pañcamābāḥam*) in the temple of Bhaṭṭara at Tirukkadittanam, for which service certain lands were given by Sannan-Tayan of Teñchēri, who was the examiner or auditor of the temple accounts. The conditions and regulations relating to the proper conduct of the service were fixed by the *ār*, *pariḍai* and *sabhai* of the village which met in the temple under the presidency of Iyakkap-Srīkanṭhan of Maṇalūnṇam, who was the governor of Nannūlai-nāḍu at the time. The penalty for the non-observance of the rules was fixed at varying grades of fines diminishing in geometrical progression:

100 *kaḷañju* of gold to the king (*perionṇaḍigal*)

50 *kaḷañju* to the governor of the district (*nāḍuvāḍṇavan*) and

25 *kaḷañju* to the officer in immediate charge of the village (*vāḷkkai-vāḷmaran* namely, the *ḍiṭṭavāḷ*)

That the temple must have had worship conducted in it for more than three times daily is evident from the fact that the absence of the *ārīḷai*-servants for three times during a day was visited with a fine of a quantity of paddy, whereas similar failure for the whole day was liable to a separate and perhaps a greater penalty. As in the Tiruvalla plates, the fines levied from the delinquent drummers were ordered to be paid to the *ḍiṭṭān* in this case also.

It is a point worthy of note that the temple servants (*paṇṇaḷkal*) were authorised to set right any difficulties arising in the conduct of the service and if it was beyond settlement among themselves, the *ārāḷar* were to be called in for a decision. If, however, in the opinion of the servants any member of the *ārāḷar* was considered to be swayed by any prejudice or ill feeling, the difficulties were to be solved in the immediate presence of the ruler of the district and the representatives of the *munnārruvar*-assembly (at Nannūlai-nāḍu).

The lands intended for this service were also restricted from being either mortgaged or disposed of by sale.

The king Ravi-Rāman in whose third year (the year opposite the second year of reign), the record is dated is not identifiable; but on palaeographical

grounds, the record can be attributed to the 11th century and may be considered posterior to the time of Bhāskara-Ravivarmān. As the date of accession and the length of reign of the latter have not been *definitely* ascertained, it cannot be said whether Ravi-Rāmap was his actual successor, though it is not improbable. Between Bhāskara-Ravi (A. D. 978-1036) and Kulasekhara of the Quilon record (A. D. 1102) there is a gap of half a century.

In the Tripunittura temple in the Cochin State is found a lithic record dated in the 30th year of reign of king Kōḍai-Ravi, and Ravi-Ādichchap, presumably a royal personage, is also mentioned therein. This record is also palaeographically attributable to the 12th century A. D., but one cannot say if the Ravi-Rāmap of the Tirukkaṭittanam record was connected with either of them.

On the west, south and east bases of the central shrine.

Text.¹

- 1 ஸ்ரீமதி ஸ்ரீ [11^a] கொ இரவிஇராமனுக்கு செல்வாரின்ற யாண்டாண்டு இ
தின் னெதிராமாண்டு மீளத்தின் தீவர்தம் நின்ற அக்கடகஞ்சிறு
திருக்கடித்தான்த் தாராரும் பாலையாரும் சம்பவாரும் நன்று[11^a] ம
நாடு வாழின்ற மணம்மந்தத் திபக்கஞ் சிரிசெண்டனம் இவகன் மு
க்காவட்டத்த அவிசொத[11^a] தாக்க கடிச் செய்த காரியமாவது
[11^a] பட்டாராண்ட பண்டாது செட்ட தென்செரிச் செக்கந் தாய
நாண்ட இளையிடும் அவன் குடி இருத்த புறையிடமு ஞாநல்வெயிச
லியும் வட்டக்காரியும் பகிற்றுட்டயாமின்ற திலத்தில் இவன்னுள்ள க
தும் தென்வரப்ப பகிர்கணத்தின் அவன்னுள்ள பட்டாரமும் இச்
சொன்ன கெழும் புறையிடமும் தென்செரிச் செக்கந் தாயநாண்ட
பண்டாடி புத்தனையும் மத்தடு பிணுன்னதெல்லாம் உன்னெடுக்க ண
ரும் பட்டாரும் கணனையும் இவகன் திருவுள்ளம் அவிசொதமாக்கி உ
ள்ளிருந்து நன்றுவழி நாடு வாழின்ற மணம்மந்தத் திபக்கன் ஸ்ரீ
ண்டன்

- 2 பஞ்சமாஸஸு அமைச்சான் அமைச்ச பரிசாவது [11^a] கிராட்டுபென்னி
க்கு அயவர் கொட்டுவது [11^a] திருப்பணிக்கு காவல் கொட்டுகித்
[11^a] கொட்டாத புனிப்படிப்ப பட்டவர் முன்னாழி நாழியால் இருநா
ழிச் செய்துநெல் தண்டமிடுகித் [11^a] முன்னதென்காலமும் முட்டு
கில் இவ்வொபாதிவால் எதன் கொடுக்கொடுத்த கொட்டுகித் [11^a]
ஒரு நாள் தெயி முட்டுகில் இடங்கழியால் நாழி எண்ணி திருமெனி
மெகாட்டுகித் [11^a] ஆட்டவ எண்ணிசில்ப் பாதியும் புனிப்பட்ட
கெல்லும் கிழ்ச்சாத்தி செய்யுமன் கொடுகித் [11^a] மற்குழிக்கு
எண்ணி திருக்கொடுகிதையார் கொடுகித் [11^a] இப்பணி செய்

1 Registered as Nos. 90 of 1886 and 12 of 1897 of the Trav. Epig. Colln.

2 Probably பகிர்கணத்தின்.

3 Read 'பஞ்சமாஸஸு'—the five great sounds viz. *ṣaṇai*, *ṭinṭai*, *ṇṇaṇṇi*, *ṭaitṭai* and *ṭuṭai*, compare the Tiruvalla plates, I. 352-3.

1a
2a



1b
2b



1c
2c



1d
2d



வான் அமைஞ்ஞ பணிமக்கள் அடுத்த முன்றுநாள் முட்டுகில் கிழச்
சாத்தியுடையான் செ அமைஞ்ஞ பரிசு கொள்கிது [1*] பலநாள் அ
டுத்து முட்டுகில் முட்டை அள[யு*] கண்டு ஊராளர் திருமெனி மெ
லாட்டப்பிது [1*] இவ்வண்ணம் அமைச்ச பஞ்சமாஸமும் கிலக்கி மு
ட்டிக்குமவனும்.

- 3 இதினாக் கமைஞ்ச பூமிவும் புறையிடமும் பத்தாபமும் கிடுவ்கிதாக [1*]
பாடுதாங்குகிதாக செய்தவனும் இருகது பதைமுவனும் ஊபான்
மைக் கிடைகிடுக் கொட்டு பெருமானடிதன்கு தாத்துக் கழஞ்ஞ
பொன்னுக் கந்து[யு*]ந் காடு வாழும்[யு*]ர்க்கு அயம்பதிக் கழ
ஞ்ஞக் காழ்க்கைவாழும்வனுக்கு இருபத்தைக் கழஞ்ஞ பொன்
ண்டப்பகிது [1*] இப்பரிசிக் காடுவாழ்க்க நாபரும் முந்துத்துவரும்
பணியுடையவதரும் உள்விருந்து இக்கச்சம் அருதிச்சிது [1*] பணிம
க்களும் இதினுக்கு வருத்துப்பு கி[யு*]க்கிதும் வருகிது [1*] ஓயாசில்
ஊராளரெ திர்த்து கொடுப்பிது [1*] இயகவில் ஆகாதவண்ண மிரு
க்கில் காடு வாழும்வனையும் முந்துத்துவரும் பணி உடையவகளைபும்
உருவதிச்ச அவநாள் கிட்டச்சக் கொள்கிது [1*] இதினாக் கமை
ஞ்ஞ நிலம் ஒத்தி வயக்கவுக் கொள்ளவும் பெருச் [1*] லீ—

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity!

When the year opposite to the second year of (the reign of) king Iravi-
Raman was current, in the month of Karkataka when Jupiter stood in Mīra, the
śrār of Tirukkadittanam, the council (*paraḍai*), the (village) *sabha*, and Iyakkā-
Śrīkanṭhan of Maṇalmannam governing Naṇṇulai-nāḍu, met together amicably in
the temple and transacted the (following) business.

Having obtained the unanimous consent of the śr, the *paraḍai* and the
sabha for the following (pieces of land), namely,—the *iḍaiyidu* of Sennan-Tayan
of Tenbēri who audited the (accounts of the) temple-treasury, the site in which he
was residing, Jñāpalvelikari, Vaṭṭakkari, his portion in the land called Payirraṭṭi,
and his share as *paḍakāram* in Teṇṇāyppalikka[ḍ*]am—with all these above-
mentioned lands and sites together with the *iḍaiyidu* of Sennan-Tayan of Tenbēri,
Iyakkā-Śrīkanṭhan of Maṇalmannam governing Naṇṇulai-nāḍu, who was present,
provided (in the following manner) for (sounding) the *pañchamahāsabha*.

Five (men) should sound during the (god's) bath (*nīraṭṭupalī*) and four
(men) should sound during (the time of) the sacred *bali*.

Those that are absent (*pullippaḍu*) without sounding, shall pay a fine of
two measures of good paddy by the measure holding three *nāḍi*. If there is de-
fault for three occasions (during the day), they shall sound (only) after paying
the paddy that had accumulated under this restriction. If there is default
throughout the day, a fine of (one) measure of oil as measured by the *iḍangaḷ*
shall be (collected and) poured over the god. Half of this oil used for the (god's)
bath and the paddy accruing from default shall be taken by the person performing
(the work of) *kīṭṣānti*. The balance of the oil shall be taken by those in charge
of the temple (*tirukkōyiludaiyār*). If the servants (intended) for this service

(*pañchamahāśabda*) are remiss for three consecutive days, they shall be liable to the stipulated penalty under the (person officiating as) *kīśānū*. If there is default for many days successively, the *ārālar* shall (themselves) find the quantity of oil at default and shall have the god bathed with it.

He who causes this *pañchamahāśabda* constituted in this manner to be discontinued, shall relinquish the lands, sites and granary belonging to this (service). He who acts so as to support the side (of the above individual) and he who gainsays (the above terms) shall lose his tenancy rights (*iḍaiyidu*) under the *ārānmai* and shall pay a fine of one hundred *kaḷaṅṅu* of gold to the king (*perumāṇaḍi*), fifty *kaḷaṅṅu* to the chief governing Nāṅṟuḷai-nāḍu, and twenty-five *kaḷaṅṅu* of gold to the officer in immediate control (*nāḷḷkai-vāḷumavar*).

These regulations appertaining to this transaction were drafted in the presence of the Nāyar ruling the (Nāṅṟuḷai-)nāḍu, the three-hundred, and the (temple) servants. The (temple) servants shall remove the hindrances arising to this (service). If not (so) freed by themselves the *ārālar* shall settle (them). Should there be any objectionable individuals among them (the *ārālar*), the difficulties shall be removed with the help and in the presence of the governor of the country (*nāḍuvāḷumavar*), the three-hundred and the (temple) servants.

The lands dedicated to this (gift) shall not be mortgaged or bought.

Hail! Prosperity!

No. 56 - Tirukkadittanam inscription of Bhaskara-Ravivarman.

The subjoined inscription from Tirukkadittanam is found engraved on the west and south walls of the central shrine in the Vishnu temple of that village. As only a portion of its first line was published on page 33 of Volume II of the *Travancore Archæological Series* with the remark that the record is incomplete, it had to be copied anew, and from the better impression thus secured the record is now edited.

It is in the Tamil language and in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters of the time of the Chera king Bhaskara-Ravivarman in whose 14th (2nd + 12th) year of reign it is dated. It registers that the *kōyiladhikāri* made a gift of the revenue in kind derivable from the village of Tirukkadittanam for feeding 24 brahmans in the temple, after deducting 12 *kalam*, which was set apart according to an earlier agreement for the payment of the impost to the ruler of the district. It is also stated that Gōvarddhana-Marttāṇḍavarman, who was the governor of Vēṇāḍu, was given administrative control over Nāṅṟuḷai-nāḍu also. As Tirukkadittanam, Peruneyil and Tiruvavundār are all mentioned to have been within the jurisdiction of the chief of that division, this district should have comprised the country lying between and possibly extending somewhat beyond these villages. Gōvarddhana also figures in the Cochin plate of Bhaskara-Ravi, 2nd + 36th year (*Ep. Ind.*, iii, 68).

The term *kōyiladhikāri* was evidently the designation of an influential officer, next in importance only to the king himself whom he represented, and who had control over the subordinate rulers of districts and small principalities, such as

THIRUKADITTASAM RECITED BY THASKAALA-BANTYARMAN.



Vēṇāḍu, Nannalaināḍu etc. Such an office of power and responsibility will naturally have been bestowed on a member of the central ruling dynasty, possibly on the heir-apparent himself, whom this probation was calculated to put in proper preliminary administrative training. Thus we find Vijayaragadeya figuring as a *kōyiladhikāri* in the records of Sthānu-Ravi, whom he must have eventually succeeded, and a Kulasekhara-chakravartin in a Guttan epigraph of Kothai 378. It is just possible that this office was synonymous with the other designation of '*ilaṅḡ-ru-vāṇiṁṇarufiṇi*', by which was meant that of the *ilaṅḡ* or heir-apparent to the throne who had under his administration the lesser half of the dominions (*ilaṅḡ-kūru, ilāṇṇēru*); and that these *kōyiladhikāris* gradually lost some of their monopoly of influence, dwindling to the subordinate status of Devasvām Commissioners to control the affairs of several temples. The term seems to be almost a synonym of the word *taligādiri* of the *Kēvalāḍṭṭṭi* and the *taligāraṇ* of inscriptions. The explanation has elsewhere¹ been offered that the office of *kōyiladhikāri* may have originated from the time when the Sāmaṇya-bhatriya chiefs, whose services had been requisitioned by the brahmanical landed gentry of Kēvala for the proper conduct of administrative business and for the preservation of the public peace, were originally placed in charge of the temple domains by the *Sāmaṇya* or (religious corporations), which had developed round the living nucleus of temples, and that these officers may have gradually monopolised much of the power from the hands of these assemblies over which they presided. Or it may be that they were put in charge of the palace management also (*kōyil*=palace) to deserve that designation. That some *kōyiladhikāris* in their subordinate status were not necessarily members of the royal house, but were often also their agents and subordinates, seems to be evident from the fact that an inscription² of the time of Bhaskara-Ravi from Perapallai mentions two individuals Ravi-Kaṇṇi of Vellār and Kūṭṭāra-Nārayaṇa of Kūṭṭāraṅḡalam as the *kōyiladhikāris*, and the interpretation making them to be mere engravers of the record on stone does not seem to be correct.

The peculiarities of the language of the document are not many except that the usual dialectical forms, such as, *amaṇchuk*, *vāṇṇu* and *kalaṇṇu* are used in place of *amaṭṭu*, *vāṇḍu*, and *kalaṇḍu*.

Text³

1 ஸ்தலத்தி ஸ்ரீ [11⁴] கொப்பரக்காண்டியியர்மர் திருவாரூர் கொலோரின்ற
யான் முன்புத்தமரண்டைத் தெடுத்த பத்திராயாண்டு வெருடுவடை
⁴கொவத்தனம் மார்த்தாண்ட[12]. அமமச்சு நன் அமபுத்திவாழ்ந்த
திருக்கடித்தாண்டதான் நாடகத்துக்கு ஆட்டுக்கொண்டம் உடம்பா
ட்டால் வாழ்த்தை ஆக [பர்த்த]⁵ இடக்கழியால் பத்திர கொல் கொல்
ஆட்டைக்கொண்ட அ[13]மசையிக்கது அட்ட கொடுத்த அது

1 *Madras Quarterly Review*, Vol. VIII, p. 116.

2 *Trac. Arch. Soc.*, Vol. II, p. 44.

3 Registered as No. 18 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1897 n. s. (No. 94 of 1896).

4 Cancel 16.

5 The reading is tentative.

- 2 கொண்டு இருபத்துநாறு கல மக்கிச மமச்சருளிஞர் கொலிவதிகாரிகள்
[11^a] இப்பத்திருகவழும் நாடுவாமுமவர்க்கு ஊரும் பொதுவானும் க
டிக் கொடுக்ககடையர் [11^a] திருவக்கிசத்தினு விசொதம் பண்ணி மு
ட்டிக்கு மிகையிடன் கொலிவதிகாரிசர்க்கு இருபத்தை(ம்)க் கழை
ந்து பொன்று நாடுவாமுமவர்க்கு பத்திருகவழத்துஞ் அஞ்ச காண
மு வாழ்க்கை வரமுமவர்க்கு அநா-
- 3 கழைத்து இரண்டரைக் காணமும் ஆட்டைக்கொள்[வா]ர்க்கும் பொ
ன்னும் கடத்தண்டம்
- 4 படக்கடையன் [11^a] பாடுதாங்குமவறு மித்தண்டம் படக்கடையன் ஸ்ரீ
[11^a]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity!

While the 12th year opposite the second year (of the reign) of king Bhaskara-Ravivarman Tiruvadi was current, the Kōyiladhikāriga] after having appointed Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍan who was governing Venādu, to administer Nappulaj-nādu (also), and after having apportioned twelve *kalam* of paddy as the (*āṭṭaikkol*) yearly payment from (the village of) Tirukkadittānam according to agreement towards the impost (*vāḷḷai-tax*) due to the *nādu*, made a gift of the balance; and with this he was pleased to make provision (in the temple) for twenty-four plates of food (i. e., for feeding twenty-four persons).

The *ār* and *poduēd* shall together give this twelve *kalam* (of paddy) to the governor of the district (*nāḍu-vāḷumavar*).

The *iḍaiyidāṇ* who does injury to this feeding and stops it, shall pay a fine of twenty-five *kaḷaṅṇu* of gold to the Kōyiladhikāriga], twelve *kaḷaṅṇu* and five *kāṇam* to the ruler of the District, six *kaḷaṅṇu* and two and a half *kāṇam* to the officer (*vāḷḷai-vāḷumavar*) in immediate charge (of the village), and (one) *poṇ* to the collector of the annual impost.

He who abets (the above person at default) shall also be liable to the same fine. Śrī!

No. 57—Record of Bhaskara-Ravivarman: 2nd + 24th year.

The present record is also from the same Viṣṇu temple at Tirukkadittānam and is found engraved in Vattēluttu on the south base of the central shrine. As the first two lines only of this inscription were published on page 40 of Vol. II of the *Trav. Arch. Series*, it had to be copied afresh, before a complete transcript could be prepared.

The record is dated in the 24th year opposite the 2nd year of reign of the Chēra king Bhaskara-Ravivarman, when Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍavarman who was the governor of Venādu was administering Nappulaj-nādu as well. From the inscription published above, it is learnt that the latter district was added to the administrative jurisdiction of Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍa about twelve years previously,

in the 12th year opposite the 2nd year of reign of the same suzerain, Bhaskara-Ravivarman. From this, and from the Cochin plate it follows that Venādu was ruled by Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍavarman at least between Kollam 167 and 191.

The epigraph states that the *parishad*, the *gana* and the *poduṇāl* of the temple at Tirukkāḍittānam met together and ordered that the holdings of the drummers (*kottigal*) shall not be taken up for cultivation or on mortgage by the *kōyiluḍaiyār*, the supervisors of the temple, and that those who transgress this condition shall be punished by fines payable to the governor of the district and to the village chief.

The last sentence which states that the record was engraved at the instance of the *wachchans* or drummers shows that they had a grievance, as their holdings apparently been taken up by those in authority to their own disadvantage, and that they appear to have made their position secure by this restriction.

Text.

- 1 கஜவதி மூ [1*] கொபாற்கரணிகவிவரம் திருவடக்குச் செல்லாதிற
யாண்டிரண்டுகளே தீர் இருபத்துநாலாமாண்டு வெண்குடைய கொவர்
த்தனமா [ர்த்] தாண்டன் கண்டமுனாவொழத் [திருக்கடி] த்தானத்து
- 2 பரிடையும் கணத்தாரும் பொதுவாள்மாரு [ம*] கண்டமுனா [ட்*] னு முந்
தாத்துவரும் பணி செய்கின்ற செம்புதாத்து குன்றம் கொகித்தனம்
[ஹம] மன்றத் திரகிவிராமதனம் கூடி கச்சமாவிது [11*] திரு
க்கடித்தானத்து
- 3 திருக்கொகிதுவடயாரும் கொட்டிகளுடைய கிருத்தி ஒத்தி கொள்ளவும்
அவை புழவு உழவும் பெருச் [1*] ஊரானும் இடைபிடரும் பொது
ஆளும் ஒத்திகொள் [ஹமயன்] புமவன் கடுவொழுமவர்க்கு இ-
- 4 குபத்து நரக்ககமழனும் வாழ்க்கை உடையவர்க்கு பத்திருக்கமழனு பொ-
ன்னுந் தண்டப்படுகிது [1*] அவன்கு பாடுதாக்குமவனும் இத்தண்ட
மே படுகிது [1*] பணிமானிடம் ஒத்தி இடைபிடு கூடி
திரு கூடி க்கு வாதிச்-
- 5 கொச்சு உழவெத்த கொள்ளக்கடவர் [1*] அது விவக்குமவர்களும் இ
த்தண்டமே படுகிது [1*] பணி மானிடத்தைப் புன்னிதிழ ஹம
வண்ணமே கணத்தாருஞ் சாத்தி செம்புமவாருக் கண்டுகொள்விது
[1*] உயச்சகன்
- 6 எழுதிது [11*]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity!

In the twenty-fourth year opposite to the second year which was current (in the reign) of king Bhaskara-Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi when Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍan of Venādu was also administering Nangulai-naḍu, the *parishad*, the *gana*

1. Registered as No. 48 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1909 n. r. This has been published incompletely — *T. A. S.*, Vol. II p. 49.

and the *poduvāḷ* of Tirukkāḍittānam, the 'three-hundred' of Nappulai-nāḍu and the (temple servants Kappan-Gōvindaḷ of Nedumpuram and Ravi-Rāmaḷ of having met, passed the following resolution:—

The trustees of the temple (*tirukkōyil-ṭṭaiyār*) at Tirukkāḍittānam shall not take on mortgage or for cultivation lands belonging to the drummers (*koṭṭikaḷ*). The *ārāḷar*, *iḍaiyīḍar* and *poduvāḷ* shall not (also) take them on mortgage.

Such of the *ārāḷar* or *iḍaiyīḍar* as take (these holdings) on mortgage shall be liable to a fine of twenty-four *kaḷaṅṇu* of gold to the governor of the district, and twelve *kaḷaṅṇu* to the officer in immediate charge (of the village). He that supports him (the transgressor) shall be subject to the same fine.

..... shall take the cultivation. He who obstructs this shall be liable to the same penalty. The *gapa* (members) and those who perform the *śānti* (worship) shall supervise the servants in the stipulated manner.

This was written by the drummers (*ṭṭaichar*).

No. 58—Another record for Tirukkāḍittānam.

This inscription which is engraved on the south base of the same Vishnu temple at Tirukkāḍittānam registers the gift of certain fields which Devan-Rāman of Mutturu made for providing certain offerings to the god (*bhāḷārar*) at Tirukkāḍittānam. The Vatteluttu characters of the record approximate to the date of Bhāskara-Ravivarma.

Mutturu, the village from which the donor hailed is in the Tiruvalla taluk and has been referred to in the *Uṇṇenilāṇṇalāḍam* in the following lines:

முத்துருக்குள்ளிருந்து புதுவெளிக்கு வந்த
புதுவெளிக்கு வந்த புதுவெளிக்கு வந்த. v. 125.

Text.¹

- 1 முத்துரு தெவளி ராமன் திருக்காட்டாத்து பழாச்சுக்கு காநாழி அரி
திருவயி-
- 2 ிது உச்சையாத்து பத்திரத்து செவ்வன் அவமச்ச பூமி [1*] கண்ணன்
சரி தெவலயும் காட-
- 3 பக்புதாசுடமு மொழியர் யாழ்க்கையும் மன்னவெலியு மன்னவெலியு
ந்நிஸ்[ப]பாதி [11*]

Translation.

The lands which Devan-Rāman of Mutturu set apart for providing sacred offerings of four *naḷi* of rice at twelve-foot time before midday to the god (*bhāḷāra*) of Tirukkāḍittānam are the following:—the whole of Kappanpuri, and half of the lands (called) Edaiyan-purayidam, Moliyar-vaḷkkai, Maṇṇa-veli, and Maṇalōḍi.

1 Registered as No. 49 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1899 A. D. (same as No. 92 of 1886.)

No. 59.—Tirukkadittanam Inscription.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the north base of the central shrine in the Vishnu temple at Tirukkadittanam. It is in the Vatteluttu alphabet and the Tamil language, and registers the gift of the land called *Nelvādil-kādu* by Kandap-Kunaraṇi alias Māluvakkōn of Kīlūmalai for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp in the temple of Tirukkadittanam. The recipients of the gift were the members of the village assembly and the *podarāl*, who, it is said, in company with 'the three-hundred' of Nānpalai-nādu and 'the six-hundred' of Kīlūmalai, made it over to Iyakkap-Gōvindaṇ of Kōḍikkūlam, stipulating that he shall enjoy the right of cultivation and give in return, on the day of Rōhirgi in the month of Kumbha, either 12 *kalam* of paddy in kind (as measured) by the *iḍaṅgaḷi*, or 6 *kalaṅju* of pure gold.

Kīlūmalai-nādu was the name of the tract of land in the north-eastern corner of the State lying at the foot of the Western Ghats, and represented by the modern taluks of Devikulam, Todupula and a portion of Muvattupula. The capital of this independent principality was Karikkōḍu near Todupula and it continued to retain its autonomy even as late as Kollāṅ 754.¹ It may have been absorbed into the greater division of Vadakkumkūru in about the end of the 16th century A. D., as it has been record by the Portuguese chronicler Gouvea that the Rāṇi of Vadakkumkūru adopted the Rāja of Todupula, on failure of issue. Kōḍikkūlam is also a village in the Karimangūr pagudi of the Todupula taluk.

The inscription is dated on the day of Tiruvōṇam falling on a Monday in the month of Kumbha of the year in which Jupiter was in Rishabha. The same individual Māluvakkōn made a gift in favour of the Vishnu temple of Tiruvalla on the day of Viśākha corresponding to a Wednesday in the month of Makara, when Jupiter was in Tula, for sounding the five great sounds or the *pañchamahā-sabda*. In it also, Iyakkap-Gōvindaṇ of Kōḍikkūlam figures. As such, the date of the subjoined inscription may be seven years after or five years before that of the gift recorded in the Tiruvalla copper-plate. To judge from the characters, the record seems to belong to the end of the 11th century A. D.

The expression 'குடுமுதையும் வகுவித அறவழித்து பொன்' in line 6 may be compared with 'அட்டுவெட்டிச் சூடுக்கு தந்து காச்சாத்தி கைசெய்யது வழங்கிற் பைத்த துறைப்பொன் உதையும் துறையும் வழங்காதது' occurring in an inscription of Rājarāja I (No. 218 of 1911), where the genuineness of the gold currency was tested by the fineness of the gold and the punch-mark (*tulsi*), which was presumably stamped on the discs by order of the issuing government. The word 'naḷuvāddadu', which prescribed that the fineness of gold should not be found to be wanting, is

1 Vide, *Bharataprakāśini* for 1896, p. 15.

சுதந்திர புத்திர சகலபூதபூதபூதபூதபூதபூத
காணபிசெய்யின சிவன சேஷ காம ரூபித
காண கனிகாசுதி கடுமினகாணபூத
காணபூதகாண கடுமினகாணபூதபூத
காணபூத கடுமினகாணபூதபூத
காணபூத கடுமினகாணபூதபூத
காணபூத கடுமினகாணபூதபூத

here expressed by the positive word *varuvadu*, 'which' possessed the necessary fineness and carat',

Text.¹

- 1 ஐயுழி ஸ்ரீ [H*] இடபத்தன் கியாமக் கிதக் கும்ப ஓரலிந்து திங்கனாண்ட
திருவொணத்தின் னுன் திருக்கடித்தானத்துப் பட்டாச[ர்*]க்கு கிழு
மலியுடைய² கண்டம் குமாஸா மாஸுவக்கொன் கத்தாவினக் கமைச்-
சான் [H*] இக் கத்தாவினத்தி.
- 2 ஓ தன்னுடைய நெய்வாதிங்காடாவின்ற செரிக்கல் [ச]தையும் வாயுக்
காட் னுன்னொடுக்க இதுபுடும் தெய்வால் கட அட்டிக்கொடுத்-
தான் கிழுமலியுடைய கண்டம் குமாஸா மாஸுவக்கொன் [H*] நெய்-
வா திவாவின்ற செரிக்கல் திருக்கடித்தானத்.
- 3 தாரும் பொதுவான்மாரும் கிழுமலி அது³ துத்தவையு நன்னுழைராட்டு
முத்தாத்தவையு பணியுடைய[ர்]சேயு முன்னையக் கொடிக்கனமு-
டைய இயக்கல் செவித்தானுக்கு காரான்மை அட்டிக் கொடுத்தார் ன-
ரும் பொதுவான்மாரும் [H*] இத்திருவினக்கு இச்செரிக்கல் து[ரு]ம்
- 4 [கிழுமலி] அதுதாத்தவரு கன்னுழைராட்டு முத்தாத்தவரு பணியுடைய
[ர்]கன[ம்*] பொதுவான்மாரும்⁴ இத்துக்கு வரும் குறையு குற்ற
முண்டாசில் விட்டிச்செய்துத்திக்கக் கடவிபர் [H*] இயவினக்கு கிழு-
மலி ஸாடபொடு [க].
- 5 டச் செலுத்தக் கடவிபர் [H*] வினக்கு முட்டிக்குமவர் கச்சத்திப்ப்பட்ட
தண்டமெய் படக்கவிபர் [H*] கொடிக்கனத்து இயக்கல் கொவிக்க-
[ம்*] ஓராண்டு முட்டிவின முட்டாட்டி செலுத்தக் கடவிபன் [H*] வி-
னத்தெனும் கும்ப ஓர-
- 6 கிந்து உதொலணி நான் பொதுவான்மார் கையில் நெல்க் கொடுக்கி விடம்-
வழிவாஸப் பச்சிரு கலம் கொடுப்பிது [H*] பெரன் கொடுக்கில் குடு-
முளையும் வகுவிது⁵ அது கனமுன்று கிதைப் பெரன் கொடுப்பிது[H]
இயக்கல் கொவிக்கல்
- 7 உடையாசடியான் கண்டவிச[ர்]⁶

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity!

On the day of Tiruvōgam, which fell on a Monday in the month of Kum-
bha of the year in which Jupiter stood in Rishabha, Kandan-Kumaran *alias* Ma-
juvakkōṇ of Kīḷunālai, supplied a perpetual lamp to (the temple of) the god at
Tirukkāḍittāṇam. For this perpetual lamp, Kandan-Kumaran *alias* Majuvakkōṇ

1 Registered as No. 88 of 1886 and No. 17 of the Trav. Epig. Colln.

2 *u* is entered below the line.

3 Perhaps ஈடு குங்கொடுக்க.

4 The syllables துத்த are entered below the line, a mark being made after அது.

5 The word occurs elsewhere as வகுவாதது; although வகுவிது may also be taken as meaning 'that possesses the necessary fineness', and occurs as such in L. 384 of the Tiruvalla plates (*T. A. S.*, Vol. II, p. 191).

6 The record stops here.

of Kīlūmalai gave with libation (of water) his land known as Nelvādīl-kāḍu, inclusive of gardens, wet, and forest lands along with all the appurtenances.

The *ārār* and *poduvalmār* of Tirukkadittanam, in the presence of 'the six-hundred' of Kīlūmalai, the 'three-hundred' of Nannūlai-nāḍu and the servants, gave the land called Nelvādīl as a *kārdūmai* to Iyakkaṅ-Gōvindaṅ of Kōḍikkalam.

The *ārār* of this Śerikkal, 'the six-hundred' of Kīlūmalai, 'the three-hundred' of Nannūlai-nāḍu, the servants and the *poduvalmār* shall, in case of any deficiency or default arising, make that good and see to the maintenance of the lamp. They shall have this lamp maintained along with the expenses of the temple.

Those who cause any impediment to (the burning of) this lamp, shall be liable to the fine fixed in this agreement. If Iyakkaṅ-Gōvindaṅ of Kōḍikkalam causes default in any one year, he shall have to pay double the quantity at default.

In making payment on the day of Rōhiṇi in the month Kumbha into the hands of the *poduval*, if it is in paddy, twelve *kalam* as measured by the *iṅṅaṅḷi* shall be given, and if gold is paid, six *kaṇṇu* in weight of gold having the proper carat and fineness shall be given. Iyakkaṅ-Gōvindaṅ, Uḍaiyārādiyaṅ Kaṇḍan-ḷavi . . .

No. 60—Two sculptured panels at Tirukkadittanam.¹

Nāṭya-sāstra, or the art of dancing and acting was developed in great elaboration by Bharatamuni in his *Bhāratasāstra* of about the 3rd or the 4th century A. D; but as it was itself probably based on the earlier Nāṭasāstras of Sīlalin and Kṛiṣṇaṇa,² which have been referred to by and must therefore have lived before the great grammarian Pāṇini, the age of the Dancing Art of Aryan India, as a science, mounts up to very high antiquity. The Tāmilian branch of this art, although it followed its Aryan sister in certain particulars and copied several of the technical terms relating to that science in later times, must have had, however, an antiquity equally great and also maintained a distinct individuality in this, as in many other branches of culture; for, we find here several varieties of dances peculiar to her own independent civilisation, which are absent in the Sanskrit treatises. In the *Aravēṇṇukāḍai* and the *Kaḍalāḍukāḍai*, the third and sixth chapters of the *Puḍār-kāṇḍam*, the first book of *Śilappadigāram*,³ reference is made to several of the varieties of dances in vogue in the early centuries of the Christian era, and the learned commentator Aḍiyārkkunallār (c. 1200 A. D.) has taken this opportunity to insert, with copious quotations from some rare Tāmīl works, such as *Agattiyaṁ*, *Śeyirriyaṁ*, *Jayantaṁ*, *Gṇaṇal*, *Nāṭaka-tāmīl-nāl* of Mativāṇu etc., a fairly detailed account on the characteristics, significance, utility etc. of the the various kinds of Dances, whether purely pantomimic or accompanied by

¹ The phrase 'eṇṇai Oḻḻ gōvindaṅḷai' is repeated in the text.

² This paper appeared in the *Mythic Society's Journal* for April 1924.

³ *Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. XII, page 157.

⁴ *Śilappadigāram*, page 80.

music, both vocal and instrumental, the principal representatives of the latter being the *yāḷ* and the *kūḷal*.

Kūttus or Dances were primarily divided into several pairs of sub-divisions consistent with their character; and one such classification was the *Śāntikkūttu* and the *Vinōdakkūttu*. The former is the collective name of four kinds¹ of Dances which were indulged in by the hero or the dancer in a mood of reposeful enjoyment and as a means of æsthetic recreation; while the *Vinōdakkūttu*² which had to appeal to the masses was mostly of a spectacular than an intellectual kind and was subdivided into the six varieties: *Kuravai*, *Kūḷam*, *Kuḷakkūttu*, *Karaṇam*, *Nokku* and *Tōrpāvai* with the optional inclusion of the *Vidaḍakkūttu* or sometimes of the *Veriyāttu* as the seventh. Of these, *Kuḷakkūttu* was also one of the eleven varieties (according to another grouping) danced by the *dēvas* in their fight with their born enemies the *asuras*, which are enumerated in the following stanza:—

‘காடவமகி ஶனிமரத் தாங்கிற்றத கத்தன்
குடை துடி மகன்விவம் கும்பு நடர் கிழிவந்
பட்டமதன் டேடுதிருப் பாகையான் பாண்டராகம்
கொட்டியகைய கண்பதினோர் உத்த’.

These again were classified into two groups of six and five each according to the posture of dancing, either standing or otherwise:—

‘அங்கியன் கொட்டி குடைகுடை பாண்டராகம்
மந்துட கிள்ளு உத்த’
and ‘அடிக்கையெழிப்பே மதக்கரையே பாண்ட
வடிவுடன கிழிந்தாட உத்த’.

Of these, we shall take up for consideration only the two varieties *Kuḍai* and *Kuḍam*, which are described in the following lines of the *Koḍalaḍuḷaḍai* as having been played on two special occasions:

‘படைகிழித் தவுணர் கைய செய்தத்
குடை கிழித் தவரு னுடய குடைபும்,
யாணன் பேரூர் மறுகடை கடத்த
ஶனி மனந்தோ னுடய குடும்’ (ll. 32-45).

In his commentary on these lines, Aḍiyārkkunallār says that god Subrahmanya³ after having slain the demon Śūrapadmaśura, who had concealed himself in the ocean, danced his war-dance of triumph on the heaving wave-platform of the oceanic stage to the accompaniment of the rattle of his drum (*tuḍi*), and that at a later stage, when all the other remaining Rākshasas threw down their weapons in despair

1 namely, *Sōkham*, *Meykōttu*, *Animayam* and *Nōḷamū*.

2 கருவரை உத்த கிழிஞ்சுத் தோரை, பாட அந்தரங்காத்தியன் குறை

—page 81.

3 *Silappadigāram*, page 49.

4 —‘மரத்த உடை’

கிழிந்த பாண்டரத் தவந்த குடைகிழித்

குந்திரத் கடந்தோ குடை தவன்—

ll. 49 to 51 of *Koḍalaḍuḷaḍai*.

Compare also செட்டவரைண்டாண்டாஞ்சு

மாவயிடுஞன் டேடுகிடைக்கான்

தேவதரணின் குடிவிநாடீ துறையன் தேர்

—*Tiruppavai*.

"As brahmins perform sacrifices in days of plenty, so too do shepherds in prosperous times give vent to their exuberance of joy in improvising the *Kuḍakkūttu* or the Pot-Dance"—a recreation that would naturally have suggested itself to a class of men whose wealth was wooed, so to say, out of the cornucopia of their milk and butter-pots. "The dancer balances a tier of pots on his head and a few more on his shoulders and throwing up some in the air, catches them as they fall in succession" (thus keeping up a continuous line of pots going round in the same manner as the game of *amūṅṅai* is being played by little girls). "The pots are either common earthen ones or are made of an amalgam of five metals (*pañchaloham*)". Lord Kṛishṇa as the prince of all shepherds (*āyarkōṇ*), was therefore the hero-elect of these pastoral performances, more particularly of the '*Kuravaikūttu*, (Skt. *Rāsakriḍā*), the idyllic dance played in the moonlit lawns of Brindavana to the entrancing accompaniment of his own divine flute, the musical instrument typical of *mullar-nīlam*. The *Kuḍakkūttu* is popular even today in the form *Karakamāṣṭam* connected with the worship of Kālī, in the *Uṇiyaḍi* festival commemorating the sports of the infant Kṛishṇa and in the street acrobats' performances.

But the authors of the *Silappadigāram* and its commentary mention also a different occasion on which this Pot-Dance was played, viz, that of the defeat of Bāṇāsura in his own capital of Sōgitapura (Sōnagaram). Aniruddha, the son and grandson respectively of Pradyumna and Kṛishṇa, made love on the sly to Ushā the beautiful daughter of Bāṇa, and was forthwith imprisoned by the irate father in his invincible fire-girt castle. But Kṛishṇa, despite the spirited opposition of Śiva, Subrahmanya, Gaṇeśa and all the goblin hordes, entered the city, defeated Bāṇa and would have slain him outright, but for the timely pleading of Śiva and the nara-king's agreement to publicly celebrate the marriage of his daughter with her secretive lover. This was the occasion when Kṛishṇa signalled his triumph by a frolicsome spell of his favourite Pot-Dance. Two other varieties¹ attributed to him are the *alliyam* and the *malla* which he indulged in on the occasions respectively of killing the elephant-emissary of Kamsa and Kātsa himself. Kṛishṇa had in his eventful life in the Āyarchēri several other opportunities for dancing; he danced his petulant and jubilant dances when butter and curds² were denied or given him and danced again on the five-headed serpent Kālīya, who was fouling the Yamunā's waters.³

It is interesting to note in this connection that the *Bālarāmabhāratam* a work on the Dancing Art composed by the royal author Bālarāmavarma-Kulaśekhara (1758-98) the Mahārāja of Travancore mentions Shapmukha (Subrahmanya) and Kṛishṇa among the *bhārata-pradhāna-puruṣas*, or important divinities intimately connected with the Dance.

1 சேரநாதன் சேரநாட்டில் செங்கீரன் குமரமேயம் — Chudamani.
This dance has been described in the Aycholāyār-Kuravai in *Silappadigāram*.

2 Compare the following description
சேரநாட்டரசர்சேரநாடு மக்களோடகூட
குடிசேரநாடு குருகுட குடிசேரநாடு மக்கள்
சேரநாட்டரசர்சேரநாடு மக்கள் குடிசேரநாடு
சேரநாட்டரசர்சேரநாடு மக்கள் குடிசேரநாடு
— சேரநாட்டரசர்சேரநாடு, 30.

3 குடமம் மெய்க்கீரன் சேரநாட்டரசர்சேரநாடு மக்கள் — Chudamani.

TWO SAVITRIBHIL PANCHAS AT THIRUKKALOTTASAM.



A. S. *Parasaurashtra* A. gaur.



The reason why the two varieties called the *Kuḍaikkattu* and the *Kuḍak-kattu* have been detailed above is because the sculptured figures on the two *vāli*-panels flanking the entrance into the *sanctum* of the Adbhuta-Nārāyaṇa temple at Tirukkadittānam (Chēngannabery taluk) may be taken to represent these two types of dances. The sculptures seem to belong to the beginning of the 11th century, and may therefore be contemporaneous with the few records of the Chēra king Bhāskara-Ravivarma (c. A. D. 1000) found engraved on the base of the circular *adhiṣṭhāna* of the *garbhagriha* of the temple. The *Kuḍaikkattu* panel is a good piece of workmanship and represents the dancer as exhibiting his skill on the dais of a covered *maṇḍapa*, the *ṅaṅgaṇḍapa* or the *Kūttambalam* of temples?, while an attendant standing to his left holds an *ambikka* aloft, its duplicate being held perhaps by the dancer himself, although this detail is not quite clear in the sculpture. Two other attendants provide the musical accompaniment consisting of the inevitable *maṇḍariyam* and a pair of *cyndals*. A flock of five *hamsas*, looking more like ducklings than royal swans, is seen standing itself on the roof of the *maṇḍapa* and adds to the picturesqueness of the composition.

The other panel⁶ representation of *Kalikata* is also from the chisel of the same sculptor, as is evident from the general style of his work and the recurrence of the same details as in the other piece. The posture of the dancer is, if anything, more vivacious and the attendants are figured with a more expressive touch of realism: witness the agile bend of the drummer's body and the watchful pose of his head. The dancer's head is dressed up in the *caranfa-makuta* or the *dhammilla* style popular in representations of Krishna and the absence of the tier of pots has to be accounted for by limitations of space. Two pots each are enjoying doubtful equilibrium on the extended left and bent right arms of the dancer, while three or four pots are seen dangling in space thrown up in the quick volutions of his rhythmic movements or he caught on as they fall and thrown up again in succession.

Such are the two dances delineated in the accompanying illustration and their importance, if any, lies in the fact that they represent varieties of the ancient Tamil dances, some of which at least were the independent product of the distinctive culture of the early Tamils and are still enjoying a fugitive existence, though in somewhat altered forms, in Kōsala, the famous 'Old Curiosity Shop' of early customs and institutions.

No. 61—Record of Bhaskara-Ravivarmam. 2 + . . year.

The subjoined record of Bhagata-Ilavārman is found engraved on the upper face of the narrow *apana* (lowermost stone-member) of the base of the central shrine of the Adbhutanācārya temple at Tirukondiraiyam, which contains many

- 4 Compare the title of *கங்கைமீனாட்சி* with
 5 கங்கைமீனாட்சி சூழல் சிவமாதா கங்கைமீனாட்சி
 கங்கைமீனாட்சி சூழல் சிவமாதா கங்கைமீனாட்சி — *Tiruvotkalamalai*,
 6 It is perhaps a happy coincidence that the temple contains a sculptural representation of the
Kankakottai, while *Nannul* etc. has described the god of this place as
 கங்கைமீனாட்சி சூழல் சிவமாதா கங்கைமீனாட்சி verse 5.

other records of the same Chera sovereign. The stones comprising the basement having become slightly disturbed on account of age, the top portion of the first line of this epigraph is hidden away by the next superposed thin *champa* stone-member supporting the *kunda*-moulding, so that the writing could be deciphered only by tracing the visible lower portions of the letters. Although I had suspected and realised the importance of this record more than a year ago, I could not make it public, as I could then produce only an eye-copy in support of my reading and could not substantiate it by an indisputable facsimile. I have now managed after some trouble to get a fairly satisfactory estampage prepared; and this piece of epigraphical evidence is entitled to much greater consideration than all the debatable arguments based merely on astronomical, palaeographical and linguistic data, that had hitherto been advanced in attempts at determining this Chera king's date.

This record is dated in the . . . year (here one stone is much defaced) opposite to the 2nd year of the reign of king Bhāskara-Ravivarman, and mentions, that while Gōvarddhana (this portion is mutilated)-Mārttāṇḍavarman was governing Nāṅṟulai-nāḍu, Śrīvallabhañ-Kōḍavarman, the ruler of Vēṇāḍu (*Vēṇāḍuḍaiya*), made some provision for the conduct of the Uttiraviḷa-festival beginning from the day of Kārttigai in the month of Kumbha. This record is incomplete; but with the details of the festival we are not much concerned. The important synchronism that the record furnishes is that Vēṇāḍuḍaiya Śrīvallabhañ-Kōḍai was a feudatory of the Chera king Bhāskara-Ravivarman along with Gōvarddhana.

Fortunately for us, we know this Vēṇāḍu ruler from his Māmbaḷḷi copper-plate¹ and his two Tiruvavvandar² stone inscriptions. Of these three, the copper-plate is dated in Kollam 149 and the other astronomical details give the English equivalent—A. D. 973, November 10. As we do not know how long this Vēṇāḍu ruler reigned, and in what part of his reign Kollam 149 fell, we can only say that Bhāskara-Ravivarman, his suzerain of the Trukkadittāṇam records, should have been reigning in the last quarter of the 10th century A. D.; and as Diwan Bahadur Mr. L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai M. A., L. L. B., I. S. O., has independently arrived at A. D. 978³ for the king's accession from calculating the details furnished in the unpublished Tirunelli plate, this may be accepted as the correct date of this Chera king. From another record which has been edited *ante*⁴, we learn that in the 2nd + 12th year of this Chera sovereign, Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍavarman who was ruling over Nāṅṟulai-nāḍu, was put in charge of Vēṇāḍu also. This would therefore indicate that Śrīvallabhañ-Kōḍai may have governed Vēṇāḍu from about Kollam 149 (A. D. 973) or somewhat earlier, till about the 14th year of Bhāskara-Ravi—i. e., A. D. 992, and that after his death, Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍavarman may have succeeded him in the Vēṇāḍu administration. As this latter ruler has figured in the Cochin plate⁵ of Bhāskara-Ravivarman dated in his 2nd + 36th year,

1 T. A. S., Vol. IV, pp. 1-11.

2 T. A. S., Vol. II, pp. 22-5.

3 T. A. S., Vol. II, pp. 31-2.

4 See page 178 *ante*.

5 Ep. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 66-3.

No. 61—THUCKADITTANARECORD OF BHASKARA-RAVIVARMAN: END—A VIAL.



J. S. Ramaswami Aiyar.

Length: 18 in.—40 inches.

No. 62—Record of Bhaskararavivarma: 1 + 1 year.

The subjoined record belongs to the year opposite the first year of king Bhāskara-Ravivarma, when Jupiter was in Tula, and records the gift of a piece of land which Iyakkāṅ-Gōvindaṅ of Muḷakkāḍu made to god Bhaḷara at Tirukkadittāṇam for the expenses of feeding twelve brahmins in the temple and for 12 *nāḷi* of offerings on new-moon days. The donation was made on the auspicious day of (Chitrai)-vishu.

It is note worthy that the year of opposition is mentioned as the first and not the second year, as is usual in Bhāskara-Ravivarma's records. This inscription was published incompletely on p. 45 of the *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Volume II; and although the present transcript is not complete, the words that have been omitted previously have now been added, so far as the damaged state of the epigraph would admit.

The amount of paddy and the extent of land are not reconcilable.

Text.¹

I வல்லி ஸ்ரீ [1²] கொப்பரந்த இசையர்மன் திருவடிக்குச் செல்வரவின்-
ற சீமான்மடக்கெதிராமன்டு கரப்பந்தெடநிம்சென்ற துரைநிம்
வியழக் கிந்த [சித்தி]மர் கிழக் கரன் திருக்கடித்தரனத்து பழா-
தர்க்கு முன்காட்டு இயக்கக் கொய்க்க அமம்கா செல்வரவிது [1³]
ஒரு [க]ந்தாயினக்கும் பத்திருவர் அமரவாதிராப்பத்தி-
ருநாழி திரு அமிர்தம் இச்செவனின்
கிம் . [கிழா]காப்பவரவின் காலவிரத்தென்னுது பகை செல்வி-
து [தா]ன் [அ]ட்[பு]ள நா[அத்து]க்களம் கிலமும் தளையும பா-
ழார்க்கு அட்டி கொடுத்தான் இயக்கக் கொய்க்க இச்செவன் . . .
. தனத்த செலுத்த³

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity !

The expenses which Iyakkāṅ-Gōvindaṅ of Muḷakkāḍu provided for the god Bhaḷara of Tirukkadittāṇam on the day of Chitrai-vishu, when forty-eight days had passed in the year opposite the . . . year of king Bhāskara-Ravivarma's reign when Jupiter stood in Tula, are the following:—

For one perpetual lamp and feeding twelve men and for twelve *nāḷi* of rice on new-moon days, Iyakkāṅ-Gōvindaṅ gave with libation (of water) to for four thousand and eight hundred *pagai* of paddy, land of four hundred *kalam* and some sites on behalf of the god.

This expense hundred shall provide.

1 Registered as No. 9 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1100 n. s.

2 It is possible that the syllables இயக்க may have been united here.

3 The record stops here abruptly.



